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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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31 July 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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ALBANIA

NEED TO COMBAT NEGATIVE ELEMENTS AMONG YOUTH

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 85 pp 34-44

[Article by Leka Shkurti: "For a Broader Vision of the Party's Work with Youth and its Union of Working Youth of Albania Organization"]

[Text] During the past year, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party--on the basis of study materials by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies on the role of youth at the present stage of socialist construction of the country--specified a range of tasks for the party organs and organizations, as well as for other organisms of society. In the execution of these tasks, efforts are being made to conceptualize the party's work with youth on a broader and more exigent basis, in accordance with the requirements of the country's economic and social development as well as the changes which the young generation has undergone and its highest requirements and interests.

Nevertheless, the problem of the youth cannot be considered to be solved with the realization of the plan of measures approved by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It is not a matter of one year or several years. The future of the fatherland and of socialism in our country is linked with the youth. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that he who possesses youth possesses the future. This teaching is of primary importance, especially today, when the party and our people have been engaged in an overall work and struggle to defend the socialist victories and lead them forward, when historical circumstances make Albania the only socialist country and, as such, it has been obliged to confront the universal political, ideological, economic and military pressure exercised on our country and people by the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist encirclement, and when one of the first objects of this pressure is youth.

The problem of youth is always on the party's agenda, due also to the fact that the young generation is continually and uninterruptedly renewed. Whole contingents of boys and girls enter their youth without the necessary experience and tempering and without adequate political and ideological formation.

For all these reasons, the party organizations must not only devote greater attention to youth, but also take full responsibility for its work and condition. It is important that this essential matter should be well understood by the party organizations, so that they will demand more from themselves and the communists, especially from those who are at the leadership of the youth organization and from all other organisms of society.

1.

Today, more than ever before, a broader vision of the party's work with youth is required. This need is connected both with the great quantitative and qualitative changes which have occurred with regard to youth during these 40 years of people's power and with the somewhat outmoded image and conception of youth still possessed by many party organizations in their work with youth.

The broader vision of the party's work with youth is required by the reality of our youth. It is not the youth of former times, nor that of several years ago. As a result of great socialist transformations and the unremitting work of the party, an overall physical, moral, spiritual and intellectual development of youth has been achieved in our country. Its distinctive characteristic is the close link with the party and socialism and active participation in the whole political, economic and social life of the country. Youth is at the forefront of the party's struggle to build and defend socialism and in this struggle it is affirmed as the most vibrant and dynamic force of society. Youth today has broader interests and greater requirements with respect to work and profession, literature and art, science and technology, school, family and society.

Knowledge of the levels to which youth has been raised, and of this great reality which the party and socialism have achieved, constitute the primary premise for the creation of a broader vision and a correct conception of the party's work with youth and for constructing it as well as possible and with the greatest effectiveness. Certainly, this knowledge cannot be static, given once and for all, but a knowledge which follows the dynamics of the development of youth, the place it occupies and the role that it plays, and of its political, ideological, cultural, educational, technical, professional, etc. content and development. In many cases, the knowledge of problems of youth on the part of party organs and basic organizations is somewhat general and secondary, superficial and empirical, because it is not yet properly based on thorough scientific analyses and studies. A positive change has been observed recently. Many party committees are planning more study topics regarding the role and education of youth. It is now necessary to raise the scientific level of these studies. This does not mean that the party committees should become study institutions, but that the studies should become a more scientific method of guidance, that they should assist in viewing the problems of youth not in a general manner, but in their specific character, with the emphases and requirements of the times, according to district, sectors or zones and age groups and categories.

The purpose of the requirement for a broader vision of the party's work with youth is that the great potential of youth should be better placed at the service of the socialist construction of the country, the realization of the

state plan and the other tasks which the party assigns in all areas. At the present time, this purpose also constitutes the most effective means of communist education and revolutionary tempering of the young generation.

The importance of youth in the development of society has been growing. During the 10 years, 1969-1979, in proportion to the population, the youth age group increased from 25.5 to 27 percent. This increase occurred in all categories of youth: workers and cooperative farmers, school-children and students. Our society is thus being unceasingly rejuvenated and does not know the phenomenon of aging, from which many countries in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world suffer.

But the importance of youth has also been growing in the area of production. Today, it constitutes 38 percent of the total active working population. Some 90 percent of youth in work relations are engaged in the sphere of material production. They constitute 27.2 percent of the working class in industry, 40 percent of the workers in the sector of construction and assembly, 42 percent of the workers in agricultural enterprises, etc.

Youth represents the educated stratum of the population and is entering production continually better trained from the cultural, scientific, technical and professional standpoints. In the last 15 years alone, 25,000 young men and women with secondary education and 43,000 workers with higher education have entered production.

First and foremost, youth constitutes a great political force and a powerful support of the general party line, the people's power and the socialist order. It is important to stress the fact that one out of every three to six young people has been selected to work in the various state organs or in the management forums of state organizations.

These and other data prove that if we better mobilize this potential of youth, its role in society will increase still further and its contribution will be more distinguished. To this end, there must be daily concern and thought on the part of the party organizations and the communists in economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, in schools and military units, on the part of party youth cadres and the other state and social organisms.

The party and the people are now in the period of compiling the draft-plan for the 8th five-year plan and of realizing the tasks of 1985. The party organizations will confront these labors successfully, among other ways by being strongly supported by the youth and lifting them to their feet with new vigor, launching them into activity and actions in order to set in motion their progressive thought and the knowledge they have gained, and in order to improve the technological processes and mechanization of work, so that it may be produced, planned and constructed with less expenditure. Youth should be inspired by the workers and the young people of their collectives who exemplify the correct comprehension of tasks and situations.

Particular importance is attached to the better mobilization of the potential of youth in the political, ideological, cultural and scientific fields and in the resolution of problems which concern the confirmation of new socialist

norms in work, in life and in society, the struggle against remnants of foreign ideologies of a patriarchal and conservative character, bourgeois and revisionist influences and liberal and bureaucratic phenomena, the dissemination of culture and knowledge, and the formation of esthetic tastes and socialist ethical and moral conduct.

2.

The party and the times require that there should be a greater increase in considerations regarding youth and confidence in its strength, maturity and ability. The whole history of our party attests to the great faith it has had in youth. What did the party and Comrade Enver not entrust to youth and what did it not accomplish with unparalleled enthusiasm and devotion, both during the war and after the liberation? Still more can and must be entrusted to it today, when ideological formation is loftier and educational, cultural and scientific capabilities are greater. It would be an anachronism if it were otherwise.

The experience of many party organizations, such as that of the "Enver Hoxha" tractor combine, the "Misto Mame" lumber combine in Tirana, the "Petro Papi" tool plant in Korca, the "Enver Hoxha" hydroelectric power plant in Koman, the Bregu te Mates agricultural cooperative in Lezhe, the Lapardhase agricultural cooperative in Berat, etc, indicates that when you turn to youth, when you assign it a problem that requires a solution and when you give it a great deal of responsibility, it strains itself at work and accomplishes its tasks with vigor. It is not fortuitous that in such progressive operations, young men and women are not absent from work, that they realize and overfulfill the norms and plan an active role in political and cultural life, as well as in technical and scientific activities.

But such an attitude is not maintained everywhere. There are many cases when various communists and cadres, proceeding from the fact that youth is a sensitive and impressionable social group in the process of formation, view working with them in an aspect that is more didactic and prejudiced and do not recognize in them their great creative and transforming power. In this way, they express a lack of consideration and sufficient faith in youth. These incorrect opinions and attitudes were also manifested in the discussion which was developed last year in the Democratic Front organization, in cooperation with the youth organization, for increasing consideration toward the young generation.

It is not normal that in some districts, in the terrain and in the military, there is hesitation about entrusting more responsible young people. At the "21 Dhjetori" enterprise in Tirana, for example, out of 84 brigade leaders in the enterprise, only 8 are young, while the number of young people working there is up to 400. Similarly, in the Valias mine, out of 24 brigade leaders and 11 division and sector chiefs, only 2 are young, while 700 young people work in this enterprise. Today, a number of young men and women with secondary education work in agriculture, but there are still few who manage brigades or sectors. The limited number of young men and women with responsible positions in technical bureaus and working on study and research subjects the poor collaboration by production professionals and specialists with young men and

women beginners and the inadequate support that is given to their proposals and initiatives must all be considered as an expression of the lack of sufficient confidence in the abilities of youth.

Let us proceed further. In schools there are still cases where various activities of the organization are not managed by the young people themselves and their leaders, but by tutelary teachers. Naturally, the fact that teachers and pedagogues participate in the activities of youth cannot be called a mistake. They do well to participate, but they err when they participate as a person who ensures the proper operation of the youth activity.

There are even worse examples. Frequently, in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, some problems which can be entrusted to youth are resolved in an administrative manner. Directors or chairmen are called by the organs of the party and government in the districts regarding questions of the plan, but they are also called, in some cases, regarding athletic events or youth festivals. Such attitudes disconcert the initiative of youth and its activities, and therefore cause great harm to the party's work with youth.

Trusting the youth certainly does not mean distancing yourself from it, weakening the party's work with youth, not orientating and not guiding it. This would be a fundamentally liberal, distorted and false conception which would have nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist concept of trusting youth and ensuring its leadership by the party. Confidence in youth presupposes the strengthening of the party's leadership and the improvement of work to analyze and clarify the directives of the party for youth, in order to orient them toward important problems which require their mobilization and contribution and in order to inspire and stimulate the activity and initiative of youth. Experience has clearly demonstrated that without the leadership of the party, it is impossible to have a youth which is educated and tempered from all standpoints and it is also impossible to have a strong youth organization.

3.

A broader vision of the party's work with youth is required not merely for culture, but in order to construct a more suitable style and method of working with youth, which would make it easier and help to link it and bring it closer to the broad masses of youth, to educate and mobilize them more in the socialist construction of the country, to know and fulfill their interests and needs--in short, to make the party's work with youth more effective.

Today, the party's work with youth is built on many roads and forms. The youth organization itself possesses many of these. On the whole, all these forms of work, as practice has confirmed, have been and are correct. But this does not mean that there is nothing else that should be seen and improved. First of all, the party requires that more life and vigor should be given to the existing structures, norms and forms, since, in many cases, they are buried under a large amount of harmful bureaucratic formalism. Then, viewing several outmoded and apathetic forms of work with a critical eye, they should be replaced with others which are more appropriate to the level of youth and to its broad interests, and which would continually enrich the experience of the party's work with youth and that of the youth organization itself. This

organs and basic organizations and a greater sense regarding those forms and practices which give skill and freshness to work with youth.

In many cases of educational work with youth, there is a predominance of criticism and various negative phenomena. On this basis, many grievances and complaints and much moralizing begin. Since such things exist, this is true and the trouble that presents itself is justified. These cannot and must not be minimized, under-evaluated or tolerated in any way. On the contrary, defects which are observed in some young men and women of various categories and which are connected with their attitude toward work and property and toward the moral and civic norms of our socialist society must be drawn more seriously to the attention of the party, in the district and at the grass-roots, and more active work must be undertaken to avoid such defects.

But in the work and life of youth there are not only negative phenomena. Those who carry these phenomena constitute a very small part of the great mass of youth. We all agree that in today's reality with respect to youth, sound education, a high political awareness, ideological maturity and a clean moral image predominate. Under these conditions, it is natural that positive phenomena must be utilized as an important and more persuasive factor to combat negative aspects in the life of youth and as an example by which to teach and guide all the young men and women of our country. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his greetings addressed to the young generation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the First Congress of Anti-fascist Albanian Youth, stressed that "We have a youth as pure as the air and crystal waters of the mountains where we have assembled. You, marvellous youth of Albania, will always remain this way - health, energetic and revolutionary, immunized against every illness which has overwhelmed whole contingents of youth in capitalist and revisionist countries." (ZERI I POPULLIT, 9 August 1984).

The thesis of the immunization of our youth concerns the fact that in our socialist country there is no objective socio-economic, political and ideological basis for the poisoning of its conscience and the corrupting of its thought, nor for making its life burdensome and its prospects dismal. When we speak about immunization, we also have in mind youth as a whole and its characteristics in general, its close ties with the party and socialism, with the people and its fatherland, with its overall physical and spiritual development, as a youth which is happy about the present and optimistic about the future.

The struggle against foreign phenomena in the ranks of youth will further consolidate and steel the immunization of our youth, which we must safeguard as a great victory so that future contingents, which will fill the ranks of youth, should always be immunized against foreign illnesses. This has been and remains a strategic problem for the party and the youth organization, as its right arm.

Youth is a more homogenous group, from the standpoint of its age, requirements and interests. This is a feature which distinguishes it from the other social groups. But within the youth group, there are various categories according to age group and according to sectors where they work. This is another characteristics feature. The first characteristic is generally taken into consideration in practice, in the work of the party and in that of the youth

organization, while the second, in many cases, is ignored and for that reason the party's work with youth frequently takes on a general character.

Studies of youth show that many young workers do not fulfill the norms of work. This is more pronounced in the machine industry, in metallurgy, in the construction sector and in agricultural enterprises. What distinguishes the work of the party and youth organizations with these categories of youth? Certainly, work is done with them and results are not lacking, but the point here is the fundamental need for working youth to be an example for the whole youth of the country. This is not a desire, but a real possibility. Working youth works in the bosom of its own class, where it learns and is educated and tempered politically and ideologically, but the care of the party organizations must be greater, so that youth should feel to a larger extent the responsibility it has in the socialist construction of the country, so that it should always be at the forefront of realization of tasks of the plan and so that it should be a fighter for technical progress - first and foremost in efforts to bring greater effectiveness to production.

There are other problems connected with village youth, who constitute the greatest number of our youth and who work in one of the basic sectors of the socialist economy. There, we encounter conservative and patriarchal manifestations, the tendency to move away from the village, remnants and customs which are connected with educational development and a way of life that is on a relatively lower level than that of the city, and the existence of group property and the cooperative farm. For these and other problems, which concern the intensification of agriculture and the increase of agricultural and livestock production, the youth of the village needs to be treated with a great deal of attention by the party organizations and the leading youth organs.

Intellectual youth, pupils and students also have particular and specific problems. These concern better commitment to their studies, persistent efforts to broaden and deepen the knowledge they have gained, the understanding and proper implementation and observance of the movement to work where the fatherland has a need and to have a closer connection with the life of the country. We have a considerable contingent of young men and women who have completed schools of higher education in specialties of the most diverse type and whose technical and scientific abilities must be put to better use in resolving economic, technical, educational, planning and construction problems.

Special importance is attached to the party's concern for strengthening and increasing the role of youth and its organization in the people's army and in the other armed forces. This is also due to the fact that, aside from the Union of Working Youth organization, there is no other social organization in the army. The daily preoccupation of the party organizations and bureau must be to make the time of military service a school of education and tempering, where the people's military art and military techniques are assimilated, where there is a strengthening of education in the respect for discipline and rules, of the spirit of revolutionary solidarity and true friendship, as well as readiness to defend the fatherland and socialist victories with resolution and self-sacrifice.

The party's activities with youth, as well as that of the Union of Working Youth organization, must be better orientated toward working with individuals. There are probably more than a few defects in this area. In many cases, there is talk of absences from work, carelessness in the protection and administration of property, uncultured behavior, etc., but there are still few communists and cadres who concern themselves and undertake what is necessary with the carriers of these foreign phenomena. These people, therefore, instead of being restrained, repeat their acts and, in some cases, propagate them further.

Work with individuals is, naturally, somewhat difficult, but it is more effective. There must be insistence here on actually noting an apparent and perceptible change. There must be a better understanding and realization of the party's instruction that people are not identical, that they possess individuality in education, psychology, formation, abilities, etc., and therefore educational work cannot always be the same for all.

In the party's work style and method with the youth, and in that of the youth organizations themselves, there is a certain backwardness which must be overcome without fail and as soon as possible. With all the improvements, party leadership in the youth organization is still evaluated by means of some formal statistical criteria which have to do with how many times the youth organizations have been called to account, how many times the comrades of the party organization have or have not gone to youth meetings, etc. In many cases, party leadership has continued to be left to a communist "assigned" to the youth organization who, in the best case, does as much as a communist can do, but not as much as an organization that has much more strength and radiates more widely can do. In any case, the leadership of the party organizations is restricted to approval or disapproval of some youth activities, even those regarding small, current and less important matters.

Work cannot advance with such concepts and practices. They are also the cause of manifestations of formalism in the guiding work of some party organs and organizations with the youth and of their alienation from the problems of youth. The care of party organizations and committees is not increased by placing the youth under tutelage, but by educating and mobilizing them for the realization of tasks. In the event that in their ranks the majority of those who steal or are implicated in a crime are young people, the party organizations must immediately find their responsibility and see the weaknesses of their work and the little concern which they have demonstrated for these young people. In any case, these "difficult" young people are not hired by the director, since he is afraid that they will cause him trouble, and the neighborhood youth organizations do not work with them properly; the secretary of the basic party organization in the workplace where they are assigned to work also has little concern for them. Concern for youth must not be shown only by the organization of conferences and mass competitions, but - first and foremost - by the education of those young people who present problems and in those sectors where there are more needs and difficulties.

Youth greatly appreciates those instances when the party cadres in districts or the party bureau secretaries, enterprise directors, chairmen of cooperatives, etc. have contacts with them, listen to their opinions and share their

troubles. This has truly emerged from the practice of many management cadres of the party and government in the district and at the grassroots. Wouldn't it be possible for this to be done not by many, but by all cadres without exception, beginning, first of all, with the secretaries of the district party committees and, following their example, by the others, especially the secretaries of the basic party organizations, the directors of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, and the many specialists? If this requirement is assigned by the directors, the close connection that must be maintained by the communists who work and live together with young people and the work which must be done to make them political and social militants become clearer.

The party organizations and committees must render more assistance to the youth organization so that its work may be more rapidly adapted to the positive changes which our youth has undergone and is undergoing. Despite the efforts that have been made and the progress that has been realized in this area, some youth organizations often lack the organizing and mobilizing force and the tenacity to lead tasks to their conclusion. Their activity does not continually revive the zeal and interest of the young men and women in pursuing them with eagerness. It frequently limits itself to the organizational meeting, which does not create the sort of necessary atmosphere everywhere for youth to derive pleasure, to discuss and exchange ideas on the most diverse problems - work, profession, science and technology, literature and art, physical culture and sports, domestic and foreign political situations, family, friendship and love. On the contrary, in some cases young people find in it an official environment with enclosed, stereotyped themes and one-sided activity.

The great tasks that are assigned to the young generation today require that the leading organs of the youth--at headquarters, in the districts and in the military units, after becoming acquainted as well as possible with the life of the youth organization, must show themselves to be more active, in order to develop their initiative and creative imagination and in order to combat manifestations of routine, formalism and bureaucracy. But these requirements are not fulfilled everywhere. Despite the good work that has begun to be executed for admissions among youth, many young men and women still remain outside the ranks of the organization and the influence of its work. This fact must also be given more attention by the party organizations.

The youth organization has a large aktiv. One out of every five or six members is selected, from the bureau of the basic organization up to the Plenum of the Central Committee of Youth. Greater care is needed to increase the role of the aktiv as an internal trained force in the educational and mobilizing activity of the youth organization. The best way is to rouse the youth aktiv to greater activity with concrete tasks, the orientation and explanation of the party directives, as well as to the stimulation of revolutionary initiatives and movements on the part of youth.

4.

The party teaches us that the education and training of the young generation is not only a matter for the youth organization. The other social organizations, the state organs and the cultural institutions, the family and the

school, as well as the whole society are also interested in it. This is a great advantage for our country, which needs to be more fully appreciated and utilized. The duty of all is to think of and work for the youth, because, as Comrade Enver says, whoever works for the youth works for the fatherland, for socialism, for the party and for the future.

The Secretariat of the party's Central Committee has drawn attention to a range of problems which must be resolved by the various state organs, which require the closest cooperation between the youth organization and other social organizations or which must be realized by the cultural institutions. The party organizations have a duty to coordinate the work of all these organisms in a better manner and to synchronize their activities by strengthening control over the execution of tasks assigned to each.

Special concern must be shown for youth's free time, for its leisure and diversions. This is a task which is often forgotten and, in some cases, neglected. In the first place, it is necessary to better utilize all the possibilities which the state has created for youth, since there are frequent cases where many cultural institutions in the cities and especially in villages have been transformed into institutions for meetings or have limited, periodic activities. Examples of the possibilities that exist for enlivening youth's free time, even with existing means, are not lacking. Praiseworthy examples include that of the University of Tirana for the manifold activities it has organized recently in various areas of science and life, as well as such activities as "Youth Day" in Tirana, "Musical Thursday" in Durres, the cultural competitions in Korce, the opening of game halls in Permet, Gjirokaster, Shkoder, etc, the activities of the "Studenti", "Heronjte e Vigut", and "Rinia" clubs, etc. It is a duty of the party organs and basic organizations to utilize these examples as a great stimulus for other cultural, athletic and tourist centers throughout the entire country.

In the meantime, thought also should be given to extending and creating new conditions. Is it not better to have fewer bars and more chess or pingpong halls? Why have parties and dances been forgotten or become rare and missed? They do not require any investment. Why are the beauties of nature in our country not better utilized by creating some modest conditions for youth in which to spend its free time? There are, therefore, many possibilities for increasing these activities: greater concern and passion are sufficient.

Today, when there is a need for raising the scientific level of people and of the work of the party and its levers with them, so that it corresponds as well as possible with the stage of development, the question also arises of raising the level of our schools, our culture in general and especially our art and literature in such a way that they should correspond to the political and cultural level of today's youth and its broad interests.

But are the communist comrades, the cadres and the workers in these areas satisfied with those accomplishments and activities which they develop and, even more importantly, with their qualitative level? With all the achievements, it must be said that youth has higher requirements. There are texts, novels and poetry, musical works, pictures and theatrical plays which are not moving and which do not stimulate thought and action because their level is

unsatisfactory. The same also occurs with some movies, radio and television programs, as well as with some articles and columns of the central and local press. When youth finds vivid life in those things--heroes who guide by their example in work, in life, in science and everywhere else, as well as strong themes which inspire them, they return in this way to the source for the inspiration and mobilization to accomplish their tasks; they create an atmosphere and a revolutionary enthusiasm for new achievements and victories; and they strengthen their socialist convictions.

Youth understands life correctly and finds its satisfaction in struggle and work for the building of socialism. It is not only an active participant in the creation of material and spiritual values, but also the greatest consumer of these values. For this reason, the various cultural and artistic institutions and their activities must be better placed at the service of our young people in order to fulfill their spiritual needs. On the other hand, youth must work and struggle even more for the most effective utilization of the great possibilities which the party and our socialist state have created.

The creation of a broader vision and a fuller conception of youth will assist in raising further the work of the party with it. The main point here is that the political commitment of youth should be increased, along with its mobilization in the ideological struggle and in the realization of the state plan, in the strengthening of the vitality of its organization and in the growth of the leading role of the party in work with youth.

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BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV VISITS BOTEVGRAD, PRAVETS 14 JUL

AU141800 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Jul 85

[Text] On 14 July Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited the Botevgrad and Pravets conurbation systems and was acquainted with the work of new trade facilities. He was accompanied by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; and BCP Central Committee secretaries.

The high-level guests reviewed the experimental culinary combine in Botevgrad and were briefed on the equipment and vanguard technologies used in the combine in the concentration and industrialization of food production. They were also briefed on the supply of ready and semiready food to the restaurants and cafeterias of public nutrition.

Afterward, Comrade Todor Zhivkov was cordially greeted at a public meeting in Pravets. He commissioned a new department store, a trade facility of a new type, equipped with modern equipment and using modern organization in its trade activity. The store will serve the population of the entire conurbation system. The process of storage and sales is organized according to new technology. Bulgarian microprocessing and [word indistinct] technologies are being used.

The officials, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, also visited the bread-producing plant in Pravets. This is a modern plant equipped with highly productive equipment for the production of bread and confectioneries.

The facilities visited by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and their progressive manner and organization of work are a new and concrete implementation of the BCP December program, in accordance with the requirements of the BCP Central Committee February plenum. The trade and everyday life servicing of the population in the two conurbation systems will considerably improve on the eve of the 13th BCP Congress.

CSO: 2200/165

BULGARIA

LEADERS' PUBLIC APPEARANCES 6-13 JUL

AU131809 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 6 to 13 July notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcast given in parentheses):

Georgi Yordanov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee of Culture, attended the opening of the sixth expanded plenum of the Committee of Culture held in Sofia. (0900 GMT 8 July) Yordanov also attended the opening of the session of the International Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation in Sofia. (0900 GMT 9 July)

Pencho Kubadinski, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a meeting in Sofia dealing with issues pertaining to the working people's recreation facilities. (0900 GMT 9 July)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting of the Plovdiv Okrug leading party and administrative organs dealing with scientific research activities in the agricultural sector. (1930 GMT 9 July)

Stanko Todorov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly, attended events connected with the Third International "Banner of Peace" Children's Assembly in Varna and commissioned a new youth complex in this town. (1730 GMT 12 July)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, attended a local party organization meeting in Silistra Okrug at which the improvement of ideological work with youths was discussed. (1730 GMT 12 July)

CSO: 2200/165

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET MONGOLIAN LEADERS ON HOLIDAY

AU121500 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jul 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, secretary general of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and to Dumaagyin Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the national holiday of fraternal Mongolia, we convey to you and to the friendly Mongolian people our most sincere congratulations and best wishes.

The victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution on 11 July 1921, inspired by the example of the Great October Revolution, opened wide prospects of comprehensive successes to your country along the path of noncapitalist development and in the construction of a socialist society. During the 64 years that have elapsed since the revolution, the Mongolian working people, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist people's revolutionary party and with the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries, has achieved remarkable successes in building socialism. The MPR today is making its worthy contribution to the expansion and intensification of the socialist economic integration of CEMA member-countries.

The BCP and all our people of Bulgaria support the policy of the MPRP and the constructive actions of the MPR in guaranteeing peace and security and in creating conditions of cooperation among the peoples of Asia. This policy represents an inseparable part of the efforts devoted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in building relations of mutual confidence and security in this geographical area as well as throughout the world.

We are deeply convinced that the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two parties and countries will develop also in the future in the interest of the unity and cohesion of our socialist community

and to the benefit of all our peoples. The recent results of the visit of a Bulgarian party and state delegation to the MPR also constitute a reliable guarantee for this.

Once more we wish you, dear comrades, and all working people of Mongolia happiness and new successes in peaceful construction as well as in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 18th MPRP Congress and to worthily prepare for the 19th MPRP Congress.

CSO: 2200/165

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ANTONOV'S TRIAL, CLAIMS INNOCENCE--Rome, 11 Jul (BTA correspondent)--"Your honour, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, Mr Prosecutor, in the first place I would like to say that standing before you is an innocent, a falsely accused person. Many slanders have been uttered in this courtroom against my homeland, against me, against us Bulgarians. I am convinced of one thing, the truth is only one: I am innocent. I have nothing to do with all those most incredible stories I am accused of. Never in my life have I seen or met the person who implicates me," the Bulgarian national Sergey Antonov told today the panel of the Rome Criminal Court. This was the first time he has been given the floor after presiding Judge Severino Santiapichi sustained the request of the prosecution for a confrontation between Sergey Antonov and Mehmet Ali Agca in order to clarify just three points concerning certain allegations by the neofascist assassin. Throughout today's 26th hearing in the second trial of the plot to kill the pope, Sergey Antonov consistently vindicated his position, rejecting the slanderous accusations levelled at him by Agca. The hearing was adjourned for tomorrow. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 11 Jul 85 AU]

KUBADINSKI RECEIVES SYRIAN MUFTI--Sofia, 12 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and member of the State Council, received Mr Ahmad Kuftaro, grand mufti of the Syrian Arab Republic. The friendly talk was attended by Bulgaria's chief mufti, Mr Miron Topchiev. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1629 GMT 12 Jul 85 AU]

KARADZHOV AWARDED SOVIET DECORATION--Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, was awarded the "Friendship Among Peoples" Order by a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This high Soviet decoration has been conferred on him for his contribution and credit earned in the development of the fraternal friendship between Bulgaria and the USSR, between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, and on the occasion of his 80th birthday. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Jul 85 AU]

ETHIOPIA PARTY DAILY EDITOR--[Name indistinct], editor in chief of the Ethiopian party organ SERTO ADER visited our country. He was received by Comrade Yordan Yotov, editor in chief of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO. The two sides discussed opportunities for the consolidation and intensification of fraternal cooperation between the two dailies. An agreement of cooperation between the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO and SERTO ADER was also signed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 8 Jul 85 AU]

31 July 1985

STANISHEV RECEIVES MADAGASCAR DELEGATION--Sofia, 10 Jul (BTA)--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP and Mr Konstantin Atanasov, first deputy head of the "Foreign Policy and International Relations" department of the CC of the BCP met today with a delegation of the Pari du Congres de l'Independence Madagascar [AKFM] [name of party as received] led by Mr Rakotovao-Andriantiana, member of the Politburo of the party and minister of posts and telecommunications of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar which is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. At the talks they discussed some concrete issues of the further promotion of the contracts and cooperation between the two parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as of the relations between Bulgaria and Madagascar. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 10 Jul 85]

FRENCH CP POLITBURO MEMBER--Sofia, 10 Jul (BTA)--Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Assembly, had a meeting yesterday with Mr Andre Lajoinie, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the French Communist Party, who is on a holiday to Bulgaria. Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Andre Lojaoinie briefed each other on the activities of the two parties and exchanged views on the current international situation and the communist movement. They acknowledged their mutual desire for the development of the friendly relations between the BCP and the PCF in the name of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, to the benefit of the friendship between the Bulgarian and the French peoples, and for a fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and France. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0705 GMT 10 Jul 85 AU]

FILIPOV ATTENDS BURGAS MEETING--A joint meeting was held in Burgas attended by the BCP Okrug Committee leadership and the collegium of the Ministry of Transportation for the purpose of adopting a comprehensive program on increasing and developing the efficiency of transportation services in the okrug during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period and for the period up to 2000. Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation, as well as Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the Burgas BCP Okrug Committee, attended the meeting. A further intensification of the okrug transportation system, which occupies an important place in the nationwide transportation network, is envisaged. It was recommended at the meeting that significant emphasis should be attached to the accelerated introduction of the most outstanding results of technical progress into the transportation system, and it was pointed out that the most updated technological methods as well as automation should be applied in the transportation process. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 85 AU]

STANISHEV AT SFRY CEREMONY--Sofia, 10 Jul (BTA)--In connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has conferred honorary distinctions on 819 Bulgarians who took a most active part in the armed national liberation struggle of the Yugoslav peoples. Today the ambassador of Yugoslavia presented the distinctions to the surviving Bulgarians, comrades-in-arms of the Yugoslav partisans. Returning thanks on behalf of those cited, Dr Kiril

Ignatov, chairman of the CC of the Bulgarian Red Cross, emphasised that the distinctions are also a recognition for the Bulgarian Communist Party which has brought up generations of antifascist internationalists. The ceremony was attended by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, by deputy ministers and leaders of public organisations. Also present was Mr Gojko Ubiparip, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who is visiting here at the head of a delegation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1204 GMT 10 Jul 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/165

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOUTHERN MORAVIA IN STATISTICS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] With its 15,026 square kilometers, the Southern Moravian Kraj is the third largest in the CSSR, while in the number of inhabitants--2,053,497--it holds the lead. Almost 61 percent of the area is agricultural land and forests cover more than 29 percent of it.

Industrial production reaches the value of Kcs 86 billion. The largest share of almost one-third is held by engineering, followed by the chemical and food industries. Compared with 1945, overall industrial production increased by a factor of 17, chemical production by a factor of 63, engineering and metallurgy by a factor of 45, lumber processing by a factor of 16, clothing production by a factor of 11 and textiles by a factor of 8.

Many of the engineering enterprises are monopoly producers. For example, Agrozet Zetor Tractors in Brno, the First Brno Turbine Plant, the Precision Machinery Works in Gottwaldov, TOS Leather Processing in Kourim, and the Smeral Cutting and Shaping Works. World standards have been achieved by the textile machinery of Elitex in Trebic. Another important enterprise is the Kralovopole Machine Plant in Brno, whose principal production sphere is equipment for the chemical industry and nuclear energy.

Agricultural production exceeds the value of Kcs 18 billion and, compared with 1945, has risen about threefold. Great successes have been achieved in grain production. The hectare yields have increased 3.5-fold and now exceed 5 tons, milk production is threefold higher than in 1945 and represents an average of 3,744 liters per cow. During the same period, horned cattle production rose by a factor of 4.5, pork threefold and eggs more than six fold.

Personal income has risen by a factor of 4.6 times since 1953, and social security by a factor of 7.

Resolving the housing problem has become one of the most urgent tasks. During the past 40 years, 352,000 new units have been built.

In health care, preventive medicine has become an important component. There are 59 clinics in the region, 384 health centers, 255 medical stations, 13 women's and 465 children's consultation facilities. While in 1945, there were

about 1,300 physicians, there are now more than 6,000, i.e., one for every 333 inhabitants.

People's education has improved. In 1950, of the total number of citizens 15 and older, only 0.7 percent were university level graduates. In 1980 this already reached 4.8 percent and during the 1984-85 school year there are 22,050 students regularly attending institutions of higher learning.

There has been a gradual build-up in the network of theaters, libraries, movie houses, museums and other cultural facilities. There are the new Janacek Theater in Brno and the Working Peoples Theater in Gottwaldov. The Mahen Theater in Brno and others have been renovated. There are 30 theaters in the region, over 400 movie houses, 1,745 peoples libraries, including branches in more remote areas, 54 museums, 22 chateaus, 6 art galleries, 3 astronomical observatories and 2 zoological gardens.

9496

CSO: 2400/363

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLICE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpt] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Corps of National Security [SNB] and the "SNB Day," a festive assembly gathered last Wednesday in Prague of service and party officials representing the federal and republic ministries of interior. Also in attendance was a party delegation led by member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Federal Minister of Interior, Vratislav Vajnar. In addition, present were CPCZ Central Committee departmental chief Vladimir Blechta, CPS Central Committee department chief Ladislav Sadovsky, Czech Minister of Interior Josef Jung, his Slovak counterpart Stefan Lazar, chief of staff of the Peoples Militia, Colonel Miroslav Novak, and other guests.

In his address, comrade Vajnar covered extensively the 40-year road of the SNB in protecting and defending our socialist society.

He also spoke of present SNB tasks, deriving from the national security policy of the CPCZ. Among these are protection of the socialist system, undisturbed development of the national economy, security and inviolability of our national borders, and a peaceful and secure life for our citizens. The basic prerequisite for a successful fulfillment of these tasks is consistent strengthening of the leading role of the CPCZ in all components of the SNB, Border Guard, and the military contingents of the interior ministry, as well as purposeful adherence to socialist legality in the socio-economic sphere and in everyday police practices. The close ties and cooperation between the SNB and the people must be further intensified and all forms and methods of preventive and educational work in the defense of socialism must be applied. An important factor in the mission of the SNB is constant improvement in the quality of its cooperation with the security services of the fraternal socialist countries, notably those of the USSR.

In conclusion, comrade Vajnar emphasized the need for yet higher quality and effectiveness in the work of the SNB as a whole.

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CSO: 2400/363

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31 July 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

ROHLICEK, URBAN MEET SYRIAN MINISTERS--Prague, 28 Jun (CTK)--Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received here today Syrian State Minister for Planning Sabah Baqjaji and Industry Minister 'ali al-Tarabulsi, who are currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia. Their talks focused on the results of Czechoslovak-Syrian economic cooperation, as well as on suggestions for their further expansion. Czechoslovak Foreign [Trade] Minister Bohumil Urban was also present. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 28 Jun 85]

CSO: 2020/157

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WOMEN'S SERVICE IN ARMED FORCES HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 85 pp 30-33

[Readers' Questions]

[Text] Gundula Asp, Pegau: Is there compulsory military service for women?

[Answer] In peacetime female citizens are not subject to general compulsory military service. However, the military service law grants them the right to serve in the NVA or the Border Troops out of their own free will. This also corresponds to the interests and wishes of many women and girls. Let us merely recall the AR Mail Bag 3/85 in which NCO Christine Zapf explained her motivations: "I say to myself: Why shouldn't we girls, too, use our ability and our strength, yes--if it has to be--even risk our lives to safeguard peace and protect socialism? Isn't it especially true that women and girls bear responsibility for life? We not only want to give new life but would also like for our children and all children to be able to live in peace, to play joyously and be carefree and to laugh." Of course it must be noted that the employment of women and girls in uniform is possible only in a limited number and in specific assignments.

Ramona Kutzner, Borna: Where am I able to apply?

[Answer] At the Kreis recruitment and induction headquarters responsible for the place of residence. If someone wants to pursue voluntary active military service as short-service NCO or career NCO, completion of the tenth grade and occupational training or completion of the 12th grade is required. Of course, also included are good health and no physical handicaps. The applicant must bring along the personal identity card, the identification for work and social insurance, the last school report card and, if available, the report card on occupational training. If applicable, also requested are the membership books of FDJ, SED and mass organizations.

There is no induction examination but a medical examination to determine fitness for duty. If everything proceeds according to mutual satisfaction, the applicant signs a commitment for duty assignment as short-service NCO or career NCO. As a rule, she is then called up for voluntary active military service in the appropriate duty station in the first few days of May or November.

Tina Eschenbach, Leipzig: Where am I eligible to serve?

[Answer] Female citizens are predominantly found in the service positions of short-service NCO (at least 3 years of service) and career NCO (at least 10 years). Only in a few cases are they also being trained as warrant officers (at least 15 years) and career officers (at least 25 years).

Female NCOs can be employed, among other activities, as stenographer-typist-transcriptionist, secretary, specialist, head of an orderly room, draftswoman in staffs and command posts, telephone operator and teletypist in communications centers, cook in mess halls, nurse in medical facilities, air traffic control personnel with the air forces and air defense.

Sieglinde Zerbst, Schwerin: How does training proceed?

[Answer] Every future female NCO starts her service career as an NCO student in a military instructional or training facility; this can be a military-technical or NCO school. The obligatory four-week basic military training takes place here in which the personnel is familiarized with the general military service rules and initial skills are acquired. This is followed by a 5-month education in the directions of social-science, general-military, physical, specialized and methodological training. Depending on the planned later activity, this takes place either at the school or in the unit within the assignment concerned, i.e. the female NCO student is trained at her job where she will remain later on. After this half year--and now appointed NCO after having passed the examination--all female comrades perform their service in the unit with full power.

Katrin Kowalski, Schneeberg: Am I going to be quartered together with the soldiers?

[Answer] Female military personnel perform their work side by side with their male colleagues, but their quarters, the floors of their quarters and sometimes also their building entrances are separate. If someone has a private apartment in the garrison area she can live there when not on duty if the superior authorizes it. (But this does not apply to the time of the training at a military school.) The other female comrades are housed separately in lodgings within or outside the barracks. In most cases, two to three female NCOs share a room. It is tastefully furnished.

NCO student Ilona Nitzchke: What is the salary that I can expect?

[Answer] During the first six months of their service the future female NCOs have rank of NCO student. During this training period they receive a monthly net pay of M 225. Short-service NCOs, career NCOs, warrant officers and career officers, after completion of their training to NCO, warrant officer or officer, receive service pay and allowances, the amount depending on rank, assignment as well as seniority. The minimum remuneration including subsistence allowance for a female NCO who is employed as a specialist is roughly M 700. Married persons receive a monthly housing allowance. For short-service NCOs and career NCOs it amounts to M 30, for warrant officers, to M 35 and for career officers, to M 35-50.

If incapacitated because of illness or service-connected injury, the pay is continued in full for 90 days in the calendar year. If incapacitated for a prolonged period of time, there are sickness benefits according to the NVA pension law.

Petra Gerstenheu, Suhl: What clothing does a female army member receive?

[Answer] Everything that is needed for the service and for off-duty periods. This would include: cap, beret and winter cap, summer and winter overcoat, rain cape, uniform jackets, skirts, dresses, trousers, white and grey shirt blouses, knitted jacket, field service uniforms for the hot and cold seasons, fatigue uniform, two types of pairs of jackboots, three different pairs of oxfords, leather gloves, scarf, track suit, sports shirt, trousers, shoes, shoulder bag. She is also entitled to a steel helmet, service belt and other items of equipment. The duty station pays money to the female army members for purchase of stockings, pantyhose and underwear. With the above-mentioned items of clothing, the six different types of uniforms can be worn: field service, service, fatigue, dress, parade and staff service uniform, the latter even in different variants.

NCO Liane Schuett: Are there prospects for promotions?

[Answer] Every soldier can rise to the next-higher rank provided that he possesses the political, military and character suitability and the knowledge, capabilities and performance required for it. Furthermore, the appropriate T/O position must be available. Female short-service NCOs and career NCOs are called up as NCO students and are appointed NCO after 6 months if they pass the examination at the conclusion of the training.

If the person involved is a short-service NCO, she can be promoted to sergeant after a total service of 18 months if she is a superior to NCOs or has signed up for 5 years, otherwise she must have a total service of 3 years in case of a 4-year enlistment. She can reach the rank of staff sergeant after total service of 3 years if she enlists for at least 5 years.

Anett Torsten, Greifswald: How about Leave?

[Answer] It does not differ from that of male uniformed personnel. The following leaves are granted: pass, extended pass, special leave, and leave. For the latter the entitlement of the short service NCOs is 24 days for the first year, increases by one day each in the two subsequent years; starting with the fourth year, to the sixth year it then comprises 30, 31 and 32 days, respectively.

When called up the leave is calculated proportionately starting with the month of entry into service to the end of the calendar year. In this case leave not yet taken from the time prior to the callup is not granted afterwards. Female citizens who start their voluntary active military service immediately after passing the skilled worker examination as short-service NCO or as career NCO receive 28 days of leave in the year of their acceptance. Here leave days already taken before the start of service are to be deducted. Special leave can be granted for one thing as a commendation, on the other hand in case of extraordinary personal events. If the conditions for obtaining workers reduced fare apply, the military personnel receive reduced fares from the railroad for their leave travels. If they do not live in the area of the garrison, they receive four free tickets during the calendar year; if they live in the garrison town, they receive one free trip.

Warrant officer student Doreen Molt: Do I get a household day?

[Answer] A monthly household day is granted to female NCOs, warrant officers and officers if a household of their own exists and one of the following prerequisites are met: the husband in the joint household is gainfully employed or is permanently disabled; the household includes family members in need of care; children up to 18 years of age are also living in the dwelling; the person concerned is single starting age 40.

12356

CSO: 2300/438

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NUCLEAR WARFARE TRAINING IN ARMED FORCES INTENSIFIED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 29 May 85 p 3

[Article by TAGESSPIEGEL staff member Michael Mara: "The GDR Army and Nuclear War; Intensive Survival Training--Only Use of NATO Nuclear Arms Regarded as Immoral"]

[Text] "Suddenly a flash lights up the terrain.... Instinctively First Lieutenant Lucke closes his eyes and throws himself face down on the ground into a nearby ditch. He is convinced that his comrades will instinctively act as he does, for he has frequently trained them how to behave following a nuclear weapons detonation....After a while, which seems to be endless, he hears the thunder-like detonation noise. He feels the pressure wave only weakly. The nuclear weapon probably detonated at a sizable distance. First Lieutenant Lucke and his comrades nevertheless put on the troop protective mask (TSM) because they know that the danger is not yet over...."

These passages originate from the report published in the GDR military press on an exercise to prepare for employment of weapons of mass destruction. The GDR army has recently undertaken increased efforts to attune the soldiers to a nuclear weapons war. "The states and the armies of the socialist defense community" must take into account the circumstance that NATO gives priority "to unleashing a nuclear war," according to the official justification. According to the GDR military press, they have to be prepared for "all eventualities."

This is done in the GDR army with virtually Prussian thoroughness and hardness. Rules of behavior and actions in case of employment of means of mass destruction are practiced again and again. The East Berlin military leadership expressly demands that in the training "the yardsticks of war under the conditions of the employment of weapons of mass destruction by the enemy" must be applied. The aim is to make the soldiers "highly capable of taking it" not only physically but also mentally and to make the soldiers ready and able for "active action" even after the employment of weapons of mass destruction.

Nevertheless a feeling of uneasiness appears to spread among the soldiers. In training doubts are expressed whether or not in the case of use of nuclear weapons "everything was done for" anyway, and whether the intensive preparation for it is not "superfluous." Such views impeding the will for combat and victory are firmly contradicted in the training material. The instructors are

to convince the soldiers that they can quite "effectively" protect themselves against weapons of mass destruction and are "not helplessly exposed" to them, as some feel.

In a publication of the GDR military publishing house recently published in the "Militaerpolitik aktuell" (current military policy) series, such fatalistic ideas in the own ranks are linked with the "ideological diversion of the enemy." According to the publication, the "imperialist crusade politicians" have "the greatest interest" in having the defenders of socialism "succumb to the ideological diversion" and in drawing the conclusion from the consequences of a possible nuclear weapons war that every defense is "senseless" and moreover the triggering of nuclear bombs is unjust. Such "imperialist attempts at diversion" will be "offensively smashed."

However, utterances also suggest Erich Honecker's ideas on the senselessness of the battle after the--possibly mass--employment of nuclear weapons. In the latest issue of the theoretical party periodical EINHEIT he writes that in a nuclear war there will be "neither victors nor vanquished" and that it will be impossible thereafter "to conduct the dispute over contradictory ideas concerning the development of the world." Honecker, who is also chairman of the GDR National Defense Council and thus supreme commander of the armed forces in case of war, already earlier had rejected the thesis of Western military that a nuclear war can be conducted and won.

Curiously in some military publications it is expressed somewhat differently. In the training material it is not concealed that the employment of weapons of mass destruction "exacts mass losses of people." But at the same time it is suggested that the combat mission--in other words the destruction of the enemy--can be fulfilled even under the conditions of the employment of nuclear weapons.

In a speech some time ago Defense Minister Hoffmann had declared that the United States and NATO can be "certain of the crushing counter strike" not only in case of the employment of intercontinental missiles.

In the publication "Economy and National Defense in Our Time" now published in the East Berlin military publishing house, it is stated on the same topic that the socialist unified armed forces "must crushingly defeat" their potential enemy in a possible war to avoid a global catastrophe.

Even in the youth lexicon "Militaerwesen" (Military Affairs) it is emphasized under the entry of "nuclear missiles war,": if the "most aggressive forces of imperialism" were to unleash such a war, the Warsaw Pact armies would be "forced in the interest of the continued existence of mankind and of real socialism to crushingly defeat the aggressor with all military means at their disposal."

In this very sense, the latest pamphlet of the "Militaerpolitik aktuell" series clearly rejects the fundamental characterization of a war conducted by both power blocs with nuclear weapons as amoral and unjust. It is rather argued that only the use of nuclear weapons by NATO is unjust but not the nuclear counter strike by the Warsaw Pact. In final analysis, "the amorality and injustice of

the nuclear weapons war" cannot be expressly asserted also for the side "which defends itself against a nuclear weapons aggression." The dispute over just and unjust nuclear missiles, to refer back to Honecker's words in EINHEIT, at any rate is likely to be unnecessary after a nuclear inferno.

12356

CSO: 2300/443

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EXPERIENCES OF PRIMARY FLIGHT TRAINING RELATED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 85 pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit]

[Text] The Way to Heaven

I was 8 years old when my parents took me on a domestic flight with Interflug. We flew through clouds, could admire the earth--I was terribly impressed and at that time I made up my mind: you are going to be a pilot. Henceforth this remained my dream.

Gradually I found out that flying alone was not everything, that a profession, solid tasks belong to it. On TV and in the newspapers I saw how Vietnam was bombed out by U.S. aircraft, how these mercenaries butchered women and children. I imagined that something like that could also happen to my parents, my brothers and sisters, friends. I wanted to do something against that. From civics instruction in school I knew that the powers that chase profits want to achieve their antihuman intentions everywhere in the world. The events in Vietnam and also in Chile indicate that clearly. I want to protect us, our country from such a calamity. Thus the decision to become a military pilot developed within me at age 14, 15.

As a career officer candidate I was assigned to the GST. Curiously enough I was trained in the following sequence: In the Jahnsdorf pilot school it was the Z 42, a powered aircraft, with which I undertook my first flying attempts and in Riesa-Goehlis I glided with the "Bocian" through the air. This gave me great pleasure, especially the acrobatic flying, and has given me much for the later development.

To learn a great deal, to become a competent pilot capable of protecting his state--that is the resolve with which I joined the army after the final examination at the Martin-Andersen-Nexoe secondary school. My models are people with outstanding achievements. Such as our cosmonauts Sigmund Jaehn and Eberhard Koellner. I would like to acquire much knowledge, do not want to waste time unnecessarily. I am ambitious enough to see through consistently to the end whatever I start.

The First Step is--Learning

Even though I was acquainted with the barracks here in Bautzen from a visit, at my induction everything seemed big to me, strange, grey and dull. It seemed to me as if I had merely entered for a short course. I closely examined my fellow students during meals: are you going to get along with the people. I already knew a few of them from powered flight. I suspected what we are going to be faced with when I read the plan for the course of instruction. And at the beginning my greatest scare was whether I would be able to master all that.

To concentrate was one of the first problems. To sit in the lecture hall for 90 minutes, only then a break--that was indeed very hard. We were used to the 45-minute cycle from the secondary school. And now twice as long. But that is only a matter of training. One must simply force oneself to pay attention. Of course, some encountered difficulties here, occasionally dozed off. Something else we had to learn was to reasonably apportion the time after the instruction. It is true, the instructors helped us, but in final analysis everybody had to decide by himself how to set up the plan at which time he wanted to do what, in other words, self-study, consultations, study group work, sports....If I had learned earlier in the secondary school how to correctly divide up my afternoon and also evening hours, some things would have been easier for me. Thus in the beginning I had some difficulty until I noticed: it is a tremendous lot that has to be accomplished in a day. It is necessary to proceed systematically and consistently.

The specialized instructors also suggested that we visit them if we cannot make progress. We took frequent advantage of that offer. And even though it may have been twice or three times on the same topic or after hours, they did not refuse to see us, they gave us the feeling not to be let down. As a result, we gained confidence in one another, thus we students were morally strengthened.

Letting Nobody Down

Among us students, too, I had the feeling of good comradeship. Even during the first few days study groups formed spontaneously which reviewed various topics once again in the evening, helped the weaker ones. At times work went on till midnight. I was happy over this attitude, also as FDJ secretary, a position to which the young friends elected me. Thus I did not have to schedule any extra meetings, management sessions or issue assignments for mutual assistance. The FDJ members themselves racked their brains, thus nothing had to be ordered. However, I do not want to hide the fact that in the beginning there were also some who believed they did not have to exert themselves. Well, in the end they had to work very hard.

Carsten Hoehn is not one of them. For him the special electrical equipment and the course system roared past too quickly in the class room. And thus I helped him. For me that is the most natural thing in the world. I think it is egotistical if one person understands a problem and does not pass on his knowledge. Also those who do not immediately understand a lesson should not be ridiculed. At any rate, my conscience is salved only if I do not let the comrade next to me down.

Some also adopted my study method: I read before going to sleep, in bed, my course notes, clarified certain connections. I felt that I could retain many things better. Of course, you could think little or not at all of TV or a pass. But I got ahead.

The Fiasco

I like topics on electronics very much. It is such a good feeling to get to the bottom of things in connection with a logic diagram, to know why it functions the way it does. I also find the circuit diagram of the engine or of the block diagram very interesting. I am much less enthusiastic about the tactics of air defense. Too dry, too much theory, too frequently the words "would" or "could." But nobody should think that I had neglected this topic, no, that would have contradicted my principles. Tactics are the fighter pilot's daily bread.

But the way it is with principles: If you ignore them just once, it happens. Such a fiasco happened to me in the simulator. In this original cabin of the training aircraft in the middle of a class room, nearly all flight maneuvers and the operations required for them can be practiced on the ground. I was at a "height" of 2000 meters and wanted to change to a glide for landing. Therefore I set the landing gear lever to "lower," and reported "landing gear lowered," but did not look at the three little green bulbs that had to light up if the landing gear were really lowered. It remained red because the computer is so adjusted that the wheels swing out only at a certain speed. But my speed was too high. Over the headset I heard the words of the instructor: "Check the landing gear signals." Only then did I realize my grave error. I was given the worst grade. I was dissatisfied with myself, would have liked to kick myself in the behind, I knew: In a real flight, this could have ended in a crash landing, perhaps even a catastrophe....

But that simply must not happen. Therefore I improved my flight preparation, practiced all operations and controls more intensively for every phase of the flight, from starting the engine to shutting it off. This defeat remained the only one in my first year and I hope it will also remain the only one in the future, too.

Alone Over the Airbase

Studying pays off--I had to think of this sentence when I found out my performance average at the conclusion of the theoretical period: 1.25. I was in second place in the company and, like officer candidate Sprenger, received the "best student" badge. Then I also passed the entrance examination for flight training and thus I was assigned to the fighter training squadron. Finally practical training after 9 months of theory. How all of us had longed for it.

My first flight with the L-39 took me at once to a height of 5000 meters. It was an orientation flight. The flight instructor sat behind me; he controlled the aircraft. Thus I had enough time to look around. What a wonderful feeling to fly above the clouds. Like thick, soft cotton lit up by the sun, that's what they looked like. I was impressed by the beauty of flying. Behind me I

heard the soft purring of the engine, around me the endless, colorful sky through which the aircraft rushed. That was quite different from the simulator.

Starting with the second flight, I had the controls myself, I had to fully concentrate. Speed, height, banking, correct engine rpm. My flight instructor had to point out fewer and fewer deviations to me. I learned how to divide my attention correctly, in the cabin and also towards the outside. After 40 starts I had made it: I was permitted to solo.

For the first time by myself with a jet aircraft. It was a sunny May day, 1130 hours, I was incredibly excited. But as soon as I sat down in the cabin, the excitement subsided. I was completely occupied with the operations. I had to demonstrate a flight circuit at a height of 500 meters. After the second banking I almost felt like singing, that is how proud I was to be able to control such a complex aircraft by myself. This feeling did not last long, I already had to think about landing. After 7 minutes it was all over.

I climbed out of the cabin a little in a daze, heard the technician as if from a great distance: "Congratulations. And always happy and soft landings." Noticed how he pressed something prickly into my hand and was glad after all to be safely back on the ground. Only later on did I notice by the itching in the hand that--according to an old tradition--he had handed me thistles. Or was it nettles? This day was concluded with a formation at which the commanding officer of the officer's college, Major General Suess, handed us diploma and flowers. I am never going to forget these hours.

I know much greater demands will follow. With the L-39 and later on with the MiG-21. The worry that I had in the beginning, it was in vain. If you exert yourself, work persistently, not middling, then your goal can be achieved. Of course a great deal of additional work must be done, you cannot just pull it out of your hat. Those young people who want to become pilots I advise to take all subjects in secondary school seriously and to keep themselves fit physically by sports. They will have it easier later on. But I believe that applies not only to future pilots....

12356
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

PSYCHOLOGICAL ILLNESSES SEEN INCREASING--GDR physicians anticipate "further shifts in the morbidity pattern" by the year 2000. It was recently disclosed at the Eleventh Congress of the GDR Society for Medical Psychotherapy held in Neubrandenburg that disorders and diseases conditioned by psychosocial factors will "increase disproportionately." It was said that this anticipated development necessitates further delimiting of psychotherapy as a specialty discipline, compilation of concrete data on the frequency with which psychosocial illnesses occur, and monitoring of the effectiveness of procedures used in psychotherapy. It is expected that research in psychotherapy will contribute to lowering the level of employment disability, to reducing the number of ineffective prescriptions for medication, to controlling disability retirements, and to reducing health impairments arising from psychic causes. The research is also expected to promote, preserve and restore health and fitness. At the congress it was stated that the research manpower of the appropriate study teams must be increased in short order, and that it is urgently necessary to develop medical-psychological and psychotherapeutic techniques for all doctors engaged in patient care, and to put the techniques into practice quickly. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 88, 14 Jun 85 p 3]

SED, CHRISTIANS SHARE VALUES--In the opinion of SED ideologues, Christians and communists in the GDR share a number of conceptions of values. At a symposium of the research group "Scientific Atheism" held at the Guestrow Pedagogical College, it was emphasized that "there is a humanistic and an antihumanistic line of tradition" in Christianity, and that many of Christianity's ethical postulates are currently being augmented by humanistic values. There thus arises "a set of intellectual interests shared with communists," which it is imperative to mobilize in the struggle for peace. In the dialogue between Marxists and Christians, it is not a question of superficially demonstrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism or the unscientific nature of religion, "but more importantly of reaching agreement on the real, practical questions of life," which would have to lead to concerted action. This is possible if "both sides [display] trust, openness, objectivity, tolerance and a readiness to compromise." "The joint responsibility for preserving and assessing the humanistic heritage and the history of our people" was said to have been derived from the cooperation of communists and Protestants during the 1983 Luther commemorations. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 95, 28 Jun 85 p 2]

HUNGARY

NEW BORDER CROSSING WITH AUSTRIA OPENED AT KOPHAZA

[Editorial Report] A new border crossing to Austria opened on 1 Jul at Kophaza as noted on p 6 in NEPSZABADSAG of 28 June 85 in Hungarian by Gabor Flus. The mushrooming tourism to Hungary in the last decade has overloaded the existing crossings like Sopron just a few kilometers away. Delays of 2 to 3 hours are not unusual. The new crossing boasts modern facilities such as a snack bar, money exchange, souvenir shop and sufficient parking for "many trucks and busses" relates Laszlo Abel, political group chief of the Interior Ministry's Border Guards. Kophaza, Janos Karpati major of the So on Border Guards proudly points out the closed circuit "industrial" television system which will oversee the services of the facility. The new crossing will help to reduce smuggling by foreigners, says Abel. The task of searching the baggage and checking the passports is performed by the border guards, who for the most part are young enlisted men and who carry out their duties with honesty and responsibility.

The facility cost 400 million forints to build and was completed in one year, says Janos Szalontai, major of the Sopron Border Area Political Department. To relieve the heavy truck traffic passing through Sopron, a connecting road has been built as well as a connecting railway overpass. The opening was scheduled for 1 July and coordinated with the new matching Austrian facility at Deutchkreutzen.

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HUNGARY

ARTICLE REJECTS STEREOTYPING OF NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 14 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Pal Feher: "What Is the 'Hungarian Soul' Like?"]

[Text] To tell the truth, it is not worthwhile to say very much about Sandor Karacsony's book "The Hungarian Mentality"--it appeared in 1939 and provoked a legitimately serious debate at that time. Its new edition in the Hungarian Messenger series is not a simple duplication of the old work but rather the version which the author prepared after the liberation and which responds to the critical commentary, and so in a certain sense we are dealing with a historical and human document. At the same time, "The Hungarian Mentality" recalls the intellectual atmosphere of the counterrevolutionary period, and it also reflects how, with what illusions, the brave thinkers who cared deeply about the business of the country and the people and who were also far removed from Marxism and socialist concepts in the Marxist sense--Sandor Karacsony, for example, was one of the most progressive representatives of Hungarian Protestantism--arrived in the new country to undertake a mission, a job. (The current edition of "The Hungarian Mentality" includes a Ferenc L. Lendvai afterword which provides an introduction to Karacsony's life and sheds light on the philosophical background in which the work was born.)

I would gladly write that "The Hungarian Mentality" has had its day. Because what could we do today with the basic argument of Sandor Karacsony's book? "The Hungarian soul is the one whose tongue is, in grammatical terms, primarily and most often coordinative, in every life-loving manifestation. The Hungarian earth is the homeland of small autonomies. Many mysterious contradictions of our destiny are solved if we regard it as the selfsame principle of many efflorescences and endeavors: coordination. The Hungarian soul in its own objective approach regards the other as its coequal..." This sentence, of course, calls to mind the pseudoscientific mentality, and if we quote it alongside one of Karacsony's important statements from 1945 according to which "the 'Hungarian' is no longer Hungarian in my way of thinking for the public, either, but what is universally human"--well, in this case, the aforementioned definition simply loses its meaning as national characterology. And if we know--and we do know this and must emphasize the honesty of conduct--that Karacsony, opposing the racial line of thought which entails eliminative and serious national tragedy, observed that "the 'Hungarian' is not race, not blood, but a matter of the soul...Everyone is Hungarian to the extent that the power of the Hungarian soul

lives and exerts an influence..."--in this case, too, we can hesitatingly reflect on the soul's scientific incomprehensibility.

Later, in the foreword written for the planned and now materialized second edition of his book, Karacsony notes with downright modesty: "The Hungarian mentality is coordinative, the West European is subordinative. This is more or less what my investigations permit me to claim." Karacsony wanted to use his linguistic studies to define the national character. Hence he discarded the Fascist myth of race and blood and chose, as in a similar effort by Mihaly Babits ("The Hungarian Character"), a much more concrete starting point, the Hungarian language, and his field of inquiry, like the period's anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi writing in general, was history and literature. I do not know how acceptable this coordinative principle is in linguistics, though I suspect it is hardly verifiable. It is certain, however, that generalizations of this kind can only elicit a smile from every rationally reflective human being today: "The German, for example, is abstract, subordinate and superordinate, ceremonious not only in his language but in his entire general life. Not just in his language but in his general life, the Hungarian is concrete, coordinative and not ceremonious but measured. The one is not superior or inferior to the other, but Hungarian is the modern, relevant, 20th-century form, and German is the exhausted, outdated, 19th-century form." The final sentence is informative: it shows the author's honesty and the prejudice which follows from his preconception, and so the first half of the sentence refutes the second half.

This is politics and not science, irrespective of the writer's intentions. Or to be more precise: politics in the guise of science since with respect to the end result--the "Hungarian soul" lived as an irrefutable truth, a reasonable fact, in the public mind at that time--it tried to explain everything which could be related to the Hungarian people, the language, the past, the present and most of all the matter of Hungarian education, in opposition to that system of thought and that policy which--according to Karacsony's viewpoint and conscience--can and did embroil the Hungarians in extreme peril. The situation's tragic paradox: in large part, one fought against the plague with the same instruments which the epidemic's disseminators had a penchant for using. After all, the "soul" likewise concealed the historical and political truth, it could similarly be bestowed according to each person's merits, in other words, it was deniable like "race" and "blood."

And how easy it would be to oppose the authentic past with Hungarians defined by this "soul" and created in a test tube by the mythicization of history! The work of Sandor Karacsony has had its day, and so we cannot forget the author's concrete political integrity, but otherwise it is not very worthwhile to be concerned with the work, at best as a document. That is to say...

That is to say, these myths have a second flowering, as it were, science's indefiniteness or negative attitude do not prevent them at all from living, indeed, from repeatedly being a serious social and political force. And because this is the situation, I do not believe that we can allow ourselves the luxury of reacting with a wave of the hand to the legends--dragged up out of their ghostly existence--among which the theories that attest to upright political conduct in days long past have lost their progressiveness and have taken on an entirely different role in social public thinking.

It is not just in our country, and I do not begin the proof with us so that it is unmistakable: to be sure, it is not a matter of a simple mistake but rather a poisonous substance which may be attractive in its outward forms, harmless to some of its users. Concerning the subjective purpose, however, we can have no doubts about its ultimate effect.

A few months ago, Warsaw's POLITYKA published a sensational article by Jerzy Tomaszewski about the nationalities in Poland, i.e., the White Russians and the Ukrainians, a little more than 1 percent of the country's population. Tomaszewski discusses the atmosphere of mistrust--often something worse than mistrust--surrounding the nationalities and mentions the stereotypes which have evolved about some people as one very important reason, for example, that the Ukrainians were collaborationists...He then continues his reflections, this time about preconceived ideas which have developed about the "Polish soul": "Time and again we grumble about the fact that today in Vienna the Poles are spoken of as criminal elements; the Swiss and some other societies are suspicious of us. We protest--and with good reason--that an entire people must not be judged on the basis of a few individuals or even groups. Outstanding scientists, namely, belong to the Polish nation, and many ordinary persons, but thieves and pickpockets as well. A total picture of our society drawn on the basis of the biography of John Paul II and Father Maksymilian Kolbe would be just as false as the picture we could sketch on the basis of the life history of some notorious Polish murderer or the story of the gang which made a name for itself in Budapest a few years ago. The same applies to other nationalities, among them the White Russians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and the other minorities living in Poland. There are criminals among them, there are distinguished persons and some very decent people. Every concept is false which seeks to judge a nation on the basis of some sort of generalization or stereotype. Nevertheless, these stereotypes create an atmosphere in which representatives of the national minorities living in Poland often feel uncomfortable and prefer not to admit in public that they have a different mother tongue..."

I apologize to the reader for the lengthy quote, but I needed it to prove that the ultimate effect of these stereotypes, every generalization which contains a moral judgment masked as scientific, can wind up here on the streets, indeed legitimately so. Not only in Poland and Hungary, but in Romania as well as Czechoslovakia, or maybe we should ponder the fate of guest workers in the German Federal Republic. As far as the nationalities are concerned, however, it is impossible to be indifferent above all to the Hungarians who make up the largest nationality groups in Europe.

And yet the questions in this case remain questions if, in the interim, we do not know how to answer them. National character is one of the most quaggy areas in individual national psychology. Not merely because investigations are initiated for political reasons in most instances: in efforts of this sort, we have been able to find many positive elements, particularly in the past. Especially when attempts were made to determine distinctive features of the national character by building on what was nonexclusive. Social demand often manifested itself in the recognition of national characteristics: efforts were made to formulate some kind of general moral lesson from history and the fine arts. It is, of course, indisputable that this is typical of any national characterology. Among the

various attributes judged to be characteristic, the ones most stressed will always be those which are raised to this status by some interest group, and in every case without exception some kind of typical lesson resulted from the attributes judged to be characteristic. They were intended as a crucial argument in political debates, a propaganda weapon in international conflicts.

A single example, from the end of the last century, but similar ones could certainly be cited from the recent past...Starting in 1883, Professor Tomas Garrigue Masaryk published a series of essays entitled "The Czech Question" in the columns of a Prague periodical. The goal of the Czechoslovak Republic's later president was undoubtedly political: his method, however, was scientific. The essays aimed at raising the political consciousness of the Czech nation and demonstrating the special mission of this nation. Masaryk specifies humanism--on historical "foundations"--as perhaps the most characteristic feature of the Czech people, but he himself could perceive the conflict in the very history when he raised the question: Is the tradition of Hus, Komensky or Zizka the stronger, are the Czechs a nation of teachers or fighters? Masaryk, of course, votes for Hus, but it is worthwhile for us to note his question because in the final analysis every national characterology refers to a common misfortune. It behooves us to mention that in certain aspects Laszlo Nemeth's essay, "My Czech Journey," presents a characterization of the Czechs--and in the comparison, of us--similar to Masaryk's: "We have more disquieting (often disfiguring) creative genius, there the culture is more dependable, the creative genius more stubborn, the work more enduring." What did Masaryk want to prove? With specific plans for national education, even with the intention of forming a state, that the future Czechoslovakia would be the faithful supporter of the nationalities and the kindred people, the Slovaks, whom Masaryk did not regard as independent. We know, however, that in addition to Hus, Komensky and even Masaryk, General Rudolf Gajda was also a Czech, who fought in Siberia at Masaryk's side against the Bolsheviks, who was the chief of staff in Masaryk's state and became the leader of the small number of Czech Fascists. - Masaryk lived to see this but not how Gajda collaborated with the Nazis and thus embodied the Czech "trait"--noted abroad especially--which is called opportunism, an increased tendency to compromise.

To analyze, prove and define consistently and on the basis of utilitarianism at all times in all of Europe a concept that exists in reality not only can give rise to misunderstandings but can lead to the impugnment of the concept itself, its existence, or its reassignment from the world of science to that of politics.

Sometimes deliberately--in the face of the corruptive tendencies of the era. Gyula Illyes did it in his small, famous book "Who Is Hungarian?" Like Sandor Karacsony, he was not able and did not wish to accept categorization by blood and race and thus steered the problem onto a political-historical plane: "The Hungarian is he who courageously confronts the people's misfortune and the obstacles to the nation's development; who today wants to attain freedom in every sphere; who desires culture, selfhood and prosperity for the people; who wants land for the plowman, worthy income for the worker, humane treatment for everyone, despite his personal interest; who, upon seeing a wretched starveling or someone denied his rights, himself feels offended in his human, Hungarian

essence." Splendid words, precisely because the indefinable haze of the "soul" is missing from them. But in the matter of personal character, Illyes does not lack the desire to see and display his own people somewhere at the head. Not at the expense of others, and yet...

Subjectivity is unavoidable in the confessions of writers and politicians. However, it is typical of the internal contradictions of the concept, national characterology, that they raise prejudice, the conscious absence of objectivity, to a theoretical level. The irony of the matter is that this takes place in the name of Marxism. It is a quarter of a century since a great debate was triggered in the Soviet press by V. Nazarenko's thesis that "in life and in literature, the life of some persons, as it is customary to say, may be positive or negative. But the national character, the character of an entire people, cannot be negative. The proper interpretation of national character is always a concept of life affirmation and enthusiasm." Perhaps it is not necessary for me to document that this is a repudiation of the basic principle of any scientific inquiry, a prejudgment of the subject matter. And in the end it itself was rejected, not in a party resolution but in debates, in the ordinary course of scientific life.

I repeat that this was a quarter of a century ago. At the same time, it is to be established that as a result of the specifics of concept and subject matter the freedom of scientific movement is considerably restricted in this area. Not only because of the inevitable emotional effects--after all, the researcher himself is prejudiced toward his own people--but also because the subject of investigation is history, the collection of examples provided by the fine arts, not some crystal-clear fluid to be worked out experimentally in a test tube. And because Saint Paul was also Saulus at one time, though he stood very close to perfection, his more mediocre and for the most part less talented predecessors and successors also present a varicolored picture in our human and national existence alike.

Some 10 years ago Yevgeniy Yevtushenko wrote about the Russian soul. In it I read: "...in the universal human unity of the soul's psychological structure, every nation has its own irreproducible features, which bear no resemblance to the traits of another nation, and if this irreproducible individuality is mislaid, mankind suffers an irreparable loss. Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy: pure Russian phenomena. Longfellow, Whitman, Faulkner: pure Americans. Cervantes and Lorca: pure Spaniards..." Yet these features differ considerably from each other as in the case of Pushkin and Tolstoy: close ties link one to the epoch's potential revolutionaries, and while Tolstoy cannot be called a zealous backer of the reigning power, he was not enthusiastic about the revolution, not to mention Dostoyevskiy who, after a turbulent youth, still found his place in the shadow of power. Is there a "Russian soul" then? Such list of names cannot prove anything. Nor can a similar Hungarian one nor any lists whatsoever.

If we stay with psychology--leaving history out of consideration--we come across similar uncertainties. Is the conduct of Pal Pato [the afternoon farmer] unique to Hungarians? We think it is. And yet Oblomovism is considered a feature of the Russian soul, and there is a lot of truth in this.

It is a fact that geographical factors influence the past and the present. Thus they have a part in shaping the habits of people who live in a given region. For example, Laszlo Ravasz considered an attraction to spaciousness one of the fundamental features of the Hungarian character. Leningrad academician Dmitriy Lihacsov, who was far removed from Ravasz in every respect, considered the same attraction a Russian trait.

I deliberately mentioned general features considered national and characteristic the social significance of which is less powerful. Because a "persuasive" parallel might be found: the capacity to dominate is characteristic of a lot of nations...

Dmitriy Lihacsov also explained it: "The existence of specific national characteristics is an indisputable fact. What does not exist are unique features, characteristics exclusively of a given people, a given nation or country. What it merely comes down to is that these national and general popular characteristics form certain combinations and crystallize in inimitable constructions."

And a second warning is not superfluous: in no instance do the specific national characteristics or features crystallize on the basis of blood or racial inheritance but as the result of history and living conditions, and in no instance do they hold true for every member of a given nation, and it is definitely not ruled out that contradictory features within the same nation assert themselves in individuals, groups and classes during a specific period. Lenin's theory of two cultures holds true in this area, and the national character evolves in such a complex accord. Contradictions and common interests form the national character in the same way as the literature which deals with it; artists write it, scientists compose it with a powerful apparatus.

Myths, politics, a scientific prospect, literary-artistic successes...The picture is this varicolored, indeed, even more so, if we want to determine who we are, if we would like to know who are our neighbors and our partners in the world.

The curiosity is justified.

But the warning is equally justified: we do not seek the answer through the revival of old misconceptions and outdated legends. The old answer could not explain anything. It gave rise to unreasonable pride, at other times to unnecessary remorse. Neither pride nor remorse belong among the forces which have effectively shaped history. Realistic politics has, however. Examination of the national characteristics should be the subject of true science. The combination of national characteristics and politics leads to extremely quaggy ground. Politics can therefore keep the national characteristics in evidence where they have a realistic place: in the specific world of history, geographic factors and mass psychology. Politics and the determinants of our consciousness have an absolute need for them, but in judicious moderation, and they can be used chiefly in possession of reliable data. If an indisputably existent concept appears hidden in myths, then caution is even more advisable.

I consider Sandor Karacsony's book an outdated work. However, a solution to the task in the Marxist spirit--not just in our country--still lies ahead of us.

12327
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HUNGARY

SURVEY EXAMINES POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON YOUTH

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 3, 1985 pp 146-152

[Article by Sandor Wolford: "The Impact of Foreign Tourist Traffic on Youth"]

[Text] Parallel with tourism's development on a global scale over the last 2 or 3 decades, our country's domestic tourism and international tourist traffic have evolved rapidly if somewhat belatedly. Our popularity has grown by leaps and bounds since the start of the 1960s.

After Budapest, Lake Balaton and vicinity is the area of the country most frequented by vacationers and foreign tourists. One of the characteristic features of foreign tourist traffic at Lake Balaton is that 30 percent of the visitors to our country in an entire year must be received during 2-2½ months all told of the big summer season.

It is illustrative of the scope of tourism at Balatonfured that nearly 180,000 guests, 90,000 of them foreigners, are welcomed annually. The proportion of Western tourists visiting Lake Balaton is highest at Balatonfured.

In planning and analyzing propaganda work, we cannot disregard the fact that Balatonfured and its zone of attraction belong to a prominent foreign tourist district. The presence of foreign tourists here is natural; meeting and dealing with them are part of everyday work.

The foreign tourist traffic affects the attitude, activity and frame of mind of the people living here. To what extent are the people who live here aware of this? How great is the impact and what is it like? What sort of effects do the lifestyle and lavish spending of those who come here have? Does the encounter with visitors from fraternal countries deepen the friendship?

The occasionally negative effects can be offset mainly by a thorough and class-accommodative Marxist education of the people, by persuasive work, and by the formation of cultured "foreign tourist conduct." Foreign tourist traffic also imposes special political tasks--in addition to the general political tasks--on all political, state, social and economic agencies and organizations which operate at Balatonfured.

It is clear that the positive and negative effects of foreign tourist traffic do not assert themselves to an identical degree on the various social strata

and age classes. We consider it particularly important to keep teenagers, who have the least experience and theoretical training, up-to-date on the various effects, to accentuate the positive and counterbalance or avert the negative. Our work in political information and persuasion--the propaganda, too--is aimed at this.

Two institutes of secondary education operate in the town: a language-division high school with 450 persons--50 of them shorthand typists--and the Special Secondary School for the Training of Skilled Agricultural Workers with 340 persons. Together with the schools' party organizations, Communist Youth League committees, state leaders and teachers, we have worked out specific tasks which help the youths to find their way and to form a correct and precise opinion of the truth. Foreign tourist policy also plays a regular role in the different types of political training, youth clubs, forums, quiz programs. The debates have become truly substantial and remarkable, because issues are discussed which really interest and affect young people.

By making use of our experiences--and for the purpose of repeatedly verifying them--we recently examined the effect of foreign tourist traffic on high school youth. On the basis of the investigation, we perform various analyses and determine our further concrete tasks. We were interested in how great an influence the large-scale foreign tourist traffic previously mentioned had on the young people, or how they themselves perceive and judge this influence.

In order for our data to correspond more closely to the truth, we included in the investigation a Tapolca high school less affected by foreign tourists and a Varpalota high school practically devoid of foreign tourist traffic. We also took into account that young people are affected by foreign tourist traffic not only in our country but also in the course of their travels abroad.

Results of Investigation Can Be Summarized in What Follows

Ninety-four percent of the students from Balatonfured have traveled abroad, 66 percent of those from Tapolca and 75 percent of those from Varpalota. Seventy-one percent of those from Balatonfured have been abroad more than once, 46 percent of those from Tapolca and 52 percent of those from Varpalota.

The greater amount of traveling by those from Balatonfured stems decisively from the fact that in numerous cases close ties develop between the local residents and the foreign families which visit Balatonfured; this manifests itself later in regular holiday exchange visits. This calls our attention to the fact that in the course of these contacts the young people can acquire deeper and deeper knowledge, beyond superficial impressions. A greater opportunity for real comparison opens up, but at the same time--and it would be very unfortunate not to make allowance for this--a greater opportunity is also presented for deliberate incitement to rebel.

Among the students questioned, 6 percent of those from Balatonfured, 6 percent of those from Tapolca and 1 percent of those from Varpalota would like to travel to socialist countries; while 42 percent of those from Balatonfured, 13 percent of those from Tapolca and 26 percent of those from Varpalota would like to go to

capitalist countries. A few typical replies from those who prefer traveling to the socialist countries: "They are more hospitable, and many things are cheaper." "I am curious about how people live in other socialist countries, because supposedly we live very well." "My relatives live there."

From those who would travel to capitalist countries: "I want to see capitalist conditions with my own eyes." "I am already familiar with the socialist countries." "They are more advanced than the socialist countries." "The socialist countries resemble Hungary, I am curious about the other type." "It is possible to get a lot of interesting things, and the opportunities for shopping are better."

It is also noteworthy that 51 percent of those from Balatonfured, 81 percent of those from Tapolca and 71 percent of those from Varpalota--in short, a decisive majority of them--indicated that it makes no difference where they travel. This was justified by the following remarks, for example: "I have not traveled abroad yet." "It does not matter where I go, I am interested in beautiful landscapes." "The essential thing is for me to be abroad." "Every country is interesting." "I feel equally good everywhere."

It is also evident from the responses that young people are not satisfied with "propagandistic" explanations. They want to acquire deep and thorough knowledge by comparing the two systems. At the same time, it can be stated that their theoretical knowledge is very superficial: many of them associate social progress exclusively with the abundance of goods and their quality.

We assumed that in the summer a majority of the young people work in the foreign tourist trade and thus their summer jobs can have a significant influence on their outlook. The investigation shows that 56 percent of them have summer jobs but only 22 percent work in the foreign tourist trade. This low ratio is in itself misleading, since those who participate in serving the guests welcomed by their parents during the foreign tourist season should also be included here.

We devoted considerable space in the investigation to finding out what opinion the young people had of the foreign tourist traffic. The following response was given first place by those from Balatonfured and Tapolca: "It is important because it can contribute significantly to political detente and the peaceful coexistence of countries with dissimilar social systems." This was put in second place by those from Varpalota. This was the first response of those from Varpalota: "It is good because it helps to acquaint us with the culture and customs of other peoples."

Consequently, in regions affected more strongly by foreign tourist traffic, greater significance is attributed to the political impact of foreign tourist traffic. Those from Balatonfured put in second place the importance of foreign tourist revenue. This was listed third by those from Tapolca and Varpalota.

What we must by all means pay attention to is the fact that out of the three high schools only a single Balatonfured pupil listed this response first: "Foreign tourist traffic is harmful because it promotes the spread of a hostile world view." Indeed, this answer was indicated in the first three places by

only 7 percent of the pupils in Balatonfured, 1 percent of them in Tapolca and 2 percent of them in Varpalota. Thus the young people judge that foreign tourist traffic and the spread of a hostile world view are not inseparably linked. This is confirmed by the response that 41 percent of those from Balatonfured, 53 percent of those from Tapolca and 47 percent of those from Varpalota believe foreign tourist traffic has no effect on them, they live as if it did not even exist.

The young people from Balatonfured and Tapolca listed the following answer first among the effects of foreign tourist traffic: "In the course of meetings and conversations, I became acquainted with the genuine Western lifestyle; it is my opinion that we live more peacefully, in greater security." This was indicated second by those from Varpalota. They gave the following answer first: "It is wrong to bow and scrape uncritically before visitors from advanced Western countries." This same answer was indicated second by those from Balatonfured and Tapolca.

It is noteworthy that out of 10 possibilities the following answer was put in seventh place by those from Balatonfured, in sixth place by those from Tapolca and Varpalota: "It deepens the sympathy felt toward the socialist countries." We can consider it auspicious that the youths from all three high schools listed this in tenth place: "It is my view that bowing and scraping is worthwhile because that is what people pay for."

Among their other observations and proposals in connection with foreign tourist traffic, objections were raised or suggestions for improvement were made in relation to transportation, entertainment and the provision of goods in our country. It was highly recommended that we make a distinction between the purchasing conditions for foreign and domestic tourists. (For example, food products, gasoline, hotel prices, etc.) Surprisingly few called for better opportunities in sports, and the things to be done in connection with the ideological-political impact of foreign tourist traffic went virtually unmentioned.

After all this, we sought answers to a few general questions in the Balatonfured high school. What does it mean to the young people to be born Hungarian? As it turned out, 90 percent of them are proud of it and consider it important; if they could have chosen before their birth, then they would have been born here. Ten percent replied that it does not matter; they believe everyone loves the place where he was born.

We can note slightly nationalist features, especially in the 4th-year classes (for example, "condescending" statements about some countries in the socialist camp and their achievements; comparisons--on a dissimilar basis--between our countries' accomplishments or problems; critical judgment of the general or nationality policy of some neighboring countries, etc).

Taking notice of this, we considered it important to discover the reasons. We found the fundamental problem in the lack of a historical outlook. Knowledge of the postliberation era is particularly inadequate. Some literary works, films, TV programs, etc, suggest that "everything was bad" in the 1950s. Knowledge of the socialist countries is scanty, occasionally distorted. All

this indicates that there must be a more thorough acquaintance with our own journey and with the historical path, destiny and aspirations of our neighbors, and connections and differences must be clarified through an exchange of ideas.

Our students have faith in the peace-keeping role of the socialist system and truly see that world peace does not depend only on the countries with a socialist system. Their answers are realistic, cautious, sometimes naive, but they also reveal fear. They are certain that the socialist countries will not unleash a war. Their appraisal of our current circumstances is that the latter guarantee security and tranquillity. As far as our country's relationships are concerned, they set great store by the Soviet Union's support, the country's sovereignty. They view this relationship as a historical necessity.

To sum up, the investigation carried out among young people and the results of its elaboration confirm that the social reality of socialism has a crucial influence on youth. Within this, however, the immediate environment is able to exert an influence in a favorable and unfavorable direction alike. We must take all this into account in the schools' educational and training work, political work, both at the workplace and in the family. Thus our tasks must be kept in mind, from school classes to Communist Youth League activities, from political training to concern for parents' associations, from the physical education of youth to creating the conditions for the cultural fulfillment of free time in numerous areas.

It must be driven home that a proper solution to their problems is found only on the basis of the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and that a historical approach is essential for an accurate evaluation of our existence and our future. For this, however, precise knowledge and rigorous conduct in young people are necessary with respect to erroneous viewpoints. Their eyes must also be opened to the fact that they will encounter a hostile ideology daily, and even if they take no notice of it, it does have an influence on them. The local tasks must therefore be continuously defined, always in conformity with the results attained and the established or likely situation.

12327
CSO: 2500/429

HUNGARY

SOCIAL WORKERS ENCOUNTER WIDE RANGE OF FAMILY PROBLEMS

Budapest OTLET IN Hungarian 30 May 85 p 9

[Article by Agnes Sesztak: "Those Who Serve the Family"]

[Text] God's mills, as is well known, do not grind at high speed. One cannot even count how many conferences, discussions, sessions and inquiries have already been held on the question, "What kind of family care network should we have?" Everybody always agrees that there is a need for one. The family is threatened by breaking relationships between couples, by children in trouble, behind them adults in trouble, by divorces and by unpleasant role changes. Generation gaps, poorly made marital choices, offspring thrown out into the streets flank the road of families with two wage earners.

Exaggeration? Oh, no! It suffices to leaf through a textbook under the title of family status. One third of the marriages disintegrates, the future of the children growing up following the example of their mother is, even when speaking mildly, desperate. We keep talking about tolerating conflicts and treating conflicts, but nobody shows or teaches just what a treatment might be.

Family care and family help have existed before. They cannot, however, be called undertakings successful in every respect. Family care cannot be done either in a paternalistic or in a conceited manner. Families alternately refuse even the smallest amount of interference, anyway. In part because of the violation of "my private affair", in part citing bad experiences. One cannot expect truly efficient work in social work for a service fee. This is a help, too; but is it family help? Therefore, even beyond its novelty value the Kobanya Family Help center which was opened on May 15th has a great significance.

The establishment of the center was decided--then was the urgent demand for it--by a government program, for a year it will be watched over and operated by three ministries, those of health, justice and education. In this Family Help Center, so it seems today, everything is together to allow substantial and thorough work to be done. The building in the Kobanya city center, in

Halom Street was donated by the district council. Manager of the center is Dr Agnes Egyed (Mrs Gaal). The building used to be a day-care center for babies, it is a well-lit pleasant place. It will certainly serve the purpose, its small reception rooms ensure intimacy, its larger halls may furnish space for future group therapy sessions. Agnes Egyed is excited and confident. She is excited, because there is only one other experimental center like this in the city, in the 6th district, to be sure, with a different profile, and she is confident, because the "troop" is ready for the opening.

[Question] Why was a Family Help Center opened just in Kobanya?

[Answer] Kobanya is a workers' district with factories, large bonusing settlements, and the number of socially disadvantaged people is unfortunately clearly large. Thus, our experiment is being conducted on an "ideal" scene. Besides two Budapest districts also Szolnok, Bacs-Kiskun and Szabolcs counties have joined in this new form of complex family care.

[Question] What are you able to offer people?

[Answer] We have two kinds of services. One is counseling, the other is family care. The latter is field work. It is oriented expressly toward the Ujhely housing settlement. This is a housing settlement of about 30,000, where practically every life situation occurs that family-care workers may have to work with. Our counseling on the premises is free and open, anybody can make use of it. We are open from 8 AM to 8 PM, on Saturday and Sunday afternoons our staff member on telephone duty is monitoring the calls. Not only in psychological matters. Our counseling encompasses medical sexology, legal counseling, our professional psychologist helps in special situations and our psychiatrist treats complaints concerning mental health. We are taking over premarital counseling from the local hospital. The workers of the center take it upon themselves to provide the young couples who come here with genuine, substantial information. We won't have white coats, there is no receptionist and interrogation, red tape is unknown and here we all feel as public health workers, we do not chatter about other people's problems. It is our duty to keep an exact case diary, but we are also duty-bound to keep secret the private lives of the people we take care of.

[Question] I am afraid that precisely the people for whose sake this house was established will avoid it.

[Answer] I hope that this will not be the case. Of course, people who drink or beat their children black and blue will not come to us to make a confession. But about the people and families in trouble we receive signals from innumerable places: guardianship office, school, council, district physician, protector. Perhaps they are even glad that finally there is somebody to help these people. We will handle this information discreetly and tactfully, but it is also certain that we will have the district mapped and that we will perform very serious field work.

[Question] Are you sure?

[Answer] We have had many discussions about who would be a good family caretaker. Here a team of people all with advanced degrees and experienced in family care got recruited together: a psychologist, an educational psychologist, a sociologist, a social worker and an educator are putting their shoulders to this work. I am not afraid of failures. They are well prepared professionally, they are enthusiastic, smart, tough and patient. If they are put out through the door, already they are knocking on the window.

[Question] Let us be a bit more concrete. In what area and to whom can you give help?

[Answer] I would like to make something clear. We are not a branch of the authorities and we are not an office. Neither do we want to play at being that. But we will be glad to take part in preparing the decisions. Thus, we can help relationships which have run out of steam, we can help when the atmosphere of the marriage has become poisoned but the point of divorce has not yet been reached. We can help in situations of crisis, in life situations which appear hopeless, indeed, after some weighing of the facts, we can even support people materially. But when we cannot help, we at least know where to direct the people. There is the Education Counseling Office; shiftless young people are helped by the "Home" club with its many possibilities; for helpless, sick, old people there is the United Social Welfare Center in our neighborhood. People are not dumb, only ill-informed. Not only in legal questions are they ignorant but also emotionally, in their relationships. Also their self-image is pretty poor. Actually, this is the reason why we are here.

[Question] What is your present minimal project?

[Answer] To "weave through" the district. We are looking up the small and large enterprises, the schools, the social organizations, the clubs, the churches. We want to get to know and win for the cause everybody who has to do with people. It worries me very much that at the time of this conversation we have not yet opened, yet my case diary already contains a series of problems demanding urgent solution. It is a question, whether we will have enough strength and perseverance.

[Question] What is your maximal goal?

[Answer] To put it in a somewhat simplified manner: that anyone having problems with his private life or family which he is unable to solve should find the way here or we should find them. We would like to help people change their lifestyle in such a way that they find happiness in it.

[Question] For the time being this is an experiment. Until when?

[Answer] For one year. What will be learned here will be used toward further study of how to answer the question of training the Hungarian "social worker." I and my fellow workers are optimistic. Why else would we start this?

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR: 29 APRIL-12 MAY 1985

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 11, 22 May 85 p 21

[Unsigned article: "Party Chronicle: 29 April--12 May 1985"]

[Text] Politburo Sessions:

6 May

--The Politburo familiarized itself with the report of the Polish delegation on the meeting of party and state leaders of Warsaw Treaty countries held in Warsaw on 26 April of this year.

--The Politburo also familiarized itself with the results of talks held on 27 April of this year between First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. It was also briefed about the talks between Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Konstantin Rusakov, as well as between PZPR Central Committee Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member Andrey Gromyko, first USSR deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs.

The Politburo:

--evaluated the course of celebrations of the Holiday of Labor;

--considered the report on the celebration of Days of Soviet Culture in Poland so far;

--accepted the materials for the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and fixed the date of its convocation at 13-14 May of this year.

Conferences and Meetings:

29 April

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in the final deliberations of the 4th ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Congress and delivered an address to the congress participants. Also present were the Chairman of the Central Audit Commission Kazimierz Morawski and Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon. Immediately after the deliberations were concluded Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the newly elected officers of the Union.

--The Central Committee's Commission on Culture and Education discussed the theses drafted for the Central Committee plenum which will outline the development directions of the national education system. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

--Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received the heads of the delegations of youth organizations from European socialist countries present at the 4th ZSMP Congress.

--At the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Warsaw was held a popular-scientific session on the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The session was attended by Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski. Ambassadors of the following countries were present: the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Mongolia, the GDR, Hungary and Vietnam.

--At the Warsaw PZPR Committee was held a meeting between Politburo Member and First Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak and the management, employees and a large number of journalists representing the editorial boards operating within the framework of the Wydawnictwo Wspolczesne Publishing House. A group of employees and journalists was decorated by M. Wozniak with medals of the 40th Anniversary of People's Poland.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk met with the journalists and sociopolitical aktiv of Mlodziezowa Agencja Wydawnicza [Youth Publishing Agency, or MAW]. During the meeting, which was attended by the Chairman of the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" [Books and Periodicals Publishing and Distribution Agency] Wieslaw Rydygier, state decorations were awarded to honored employees of the MAW.

--Poland was toured by a delegation of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the SEPD [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] headed by Member of the SEPD Central Committee and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Otto Reinhold. The delegation held a meeting with the administrators of the Academy of Social Sciences under the PZPR. The rectors of both academies, Marian Orzechowski and Otto Reinhold, signed an agreement for bilateral cooperation. The delegation was received by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger received the Ambassador of the Republic of Finland Olav Rautio.

30 April

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski met in the Belvedere [Palace] with a 100-person group of distinguished workers. During the festivity Wojciech Jaruzelski, Henryk Jablonski and Kazimierz Barcikowski handed to the invitees medals of the 40th Anniversary of People's Poland.

--In the Congress Room of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw was held a festive May Day concert. The following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee were present: Jozef Czyrek, Albin Siwak, Marian Wozniak and Jan Glowczyk. Also present were the Chairman of the Central Audit Commission Kazimierz Morawski and the Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission Jerzy Urbanski. An apposite address was delivered by First Secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak.

1 May

--Throughout the country were held May Day parades and rallies, attended by about 7 million Poles. The participants in the May Day Parade in the Nation's Capital included members of the highest party and state authorities, headed by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski. An apposite address was delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

2 May

--Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the administrators of the Polish Academy of Sciences to discuss the principal problems of Polish science and scientist community. The meeting was attended by the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Tadeusz Porebski, as well as by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

3 May

--On the 194th anniversary of the Constitution of 3 May the ceremony of hoisting the state flag on the tower of Royal Castle was held in Warsaw's Castle Square. Those present included: First Central Committee Secretary Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic; Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski; and the following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Stefan Olszowski, Tadeusz Porebski, Marian Wozniak, Army Gen Florian Siwicki and Henryk Bednarski.

--The Royal Castle in Warsaw was the site of a festive meeting organized by the Central Committee of the SD [Democratic Party] as part of that party's holiday being celebrated on 3 May. The festive occasion was attended by Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski. Also present were Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

--On the occasion of the Day of Soviet Press was held in Warsaw a meeting between correspondents of the Soviet press, radio and television accredited to Poland as well as correspondents of the press of the socialist countries, and the management of the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch." The meeting, hosted by Chairman Wieslaw Rydygier, was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and the Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz.

--A working visit to Poland was ended by a delegation of the Congolese Labor Party headed by Jean-Pierre Nonault, member of that party's central committee and director of its foreign department. Toward the end of its visit the delegation met with the Director of the Foreign Department under the Central Committee Wladzimierz Natorf.

4-5 May

--The 7th ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Congress was held in Warsaw. The deliberations were attended by First Central Committee Secretary Army Gen Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski. Also present were Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Albin Siwak as well as the following candidate members of the Politburo: Minister of Internal Affairs Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszcak, Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki, and Chairman of the Central Audit Commission Kazimierz Morawski. The USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Aksyonov was a guest at the congress. Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered an address to the congress participants.

6 May

--Politburo Member and Chairman of the Central Committee's Culture Commission Hieronim Kubiak met with the chairmen of the main boards of unions of artists and sculptors, in connection with preparations for a session of the commission on the topic of the conditions of exercise of professional sculpting activities and the development of sculpting creativity.

8 May

--The festive Trooping of Victory Colors at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw was attended by the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Albin Siwak, Marian Wozniak, Henryk Bednarski and Waldemar Swirgon.

--First Central Committee Secretary Army Gen Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski received the Soviet medals

"40 Years of Victory in the Great Patriotic War." Members of the PZPR Politburo and Central Committee secretaries also received these medals. Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ryzhkov officiated at the awarding ceremony.

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the President of the Republic of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the National Leadership of the Sandino National Liberation Front.

--Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski was decorated with the Order of the October Revolution by Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ryzhkov, the head of the Soviet delegation attending the ceremonies in honor of the 40th anniversary of the victory, at a ceremony in the Belvedere. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the highest party and state authorities along with First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

--Talks were held between Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Politburo Member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Nikolay Ryzhkov.

9 May

--On the 40th anniversary of the victorious conclusion of World War II members of the supreme party and state authorities, headed by First Central Committee Secretary Army Gen Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, laid wreaths on behalf of the Polish nation on the slab of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as well as at the Cemetery Mausoleum of Soldiers of the Soviet Army in Warsaw.

11 May

--First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met with representatives of the administration of justice: chairmen of province courts, province public prosecutors and first secretaries of POP's [basic party organizations] at province courts and procuratures.

At Party Echelons and Organizations

30 April

--In Lodz, in front of the Memorial to Revolutionary Action, was held a national rally attended by veterans of revolutionary struggle as well as World War II veterans. Politburo members Tadeusz Czechowicz and Jerzy Romanik attended, as did Central Committee secretary Henryk Bednarski.

--Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with the socioeconomic aktiv of the FSO [Passenger Car Factory] in Warsaw.

3 May

--The Bydgoszcz Province PZPR Committee discussed the state of the region's economy in the context of implementing the resolution of the 18th Central Committee Plenum and applying the economic reform. The deliberations were attended by the Director of the Central Committee's Economic Department Marek Holdakowski.

7 May

--Wroclaw was the site of central celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the return of Western and Northern territories to the Motherland. The festivities were attended by representatives of the highest party and state authorities, including First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski. They also were attended by an USSR delegation headed by Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ryzhkov. During a rally at the People's Hall in Wroclaw Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered an address which was published in the daily press of 8 May. Greetings from the Soviet people were conveyed by Nikolay Ryzhkov.

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received the head of the Soviet delegation to the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism and the return of Western and Northern territories to the Motherland, Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ryzhkov. The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski, USSR Deputy Premier Venyamin Dimshits and the USSR Ambassador to Poland Aleksandr Aksyonov.

10-11 May

--The Central Committee's Maritime Commission at a session in Gdansk considered navigational safety and working and living conditions on sea as well as the situation of Polish sea rescue and salvage facilities. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and attended by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk familiarized himself in Bydgoszcz with the progress of the construction of the typographical combine and attended the interprovince celebration of the Day of the Transport Worker in Swiec on the Vistula.

1386

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JPRS-EPS-85-079
31 July 1985

POLAND

BRIEFS

ILLEGAL PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTOR DETAINED--Militia officers from the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Tarnobrzeg have detained Ewa Kuberne, 32, a resident of Stalowa Wola, employed at the local Roman Catholic parish of Our Lady, Queen of Poland. A traveling bag she had in her possession was found to contain various illegal publications, the contents of which were contrary to the interests of the state. By decision of the public prosecutor in Stalowa Wola, Ewa Kuberne has been taken into investigative custody. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jun 85 p 2]

CSO: 2020/160

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU MASKS DOMESTIC FRAILTY WITH TOUGH FOREIGN POSE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 18 Jun 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Ceausescu's Base Getting Narrower"]

[Text] Vienna, in June—"What proof have you got that you are really working in Italy?" the Italian border guard on the "Simplon Express" was asking a Romanian national. There is no use complaining; the man has to pack up his things and leave the train. "The Romanians are coming here from all over these days," the border guard explains to the other travelers by way of an apology. I had already heard in Belgrade that many more Romanians are fleeing across the border in the Banat and along the Danube than did just a short while ago. If they are lucky, they can get in touch with the High Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade and if they are not, they are sent back home.

Violation of International Law

Some 900 Romanians are said to have gotten official permission to leave the country recently; but only about 200 of them have reached West Berlin, Sweden or other destinations. Only a few of them have the necessary papers for legal entry and stay in any Western country, least of all the United States. The Romanians show up with passports that contain no information as to their citizenship and that do not permit them to return to Romania either. This type of expulsion of one's own nationals constitutes a violation of international law as well as of specific agreements with foreign countries. It is now said that no such expatriations have taken place since 31 May and that this "action" has been completed.

But such assertions have met with disbelief among foreign diplomats in Bucharest—the more so since Ceausescu's campaign to get rid of unwanted individuals has been in the making for some time. Former U.S. Ambassador Funderburk said in an interview some weeks ago that the Romanian authorities were not issuing exit visas to those Romanian citizens who stood a chance of obtaining a U.S. visa for family or other reasons and were instead having other Romanians apply for such visas, knowing full well that they would not be considered. It also appears that there are more and more Romanian nationals applying for immigration visas for the FRG rather

than ethnic Germans—the current figure appears to be between 25 and 30 percent. The striking fact is that the Romanian relatives of ethnic Germans have an easy time getting an exit visa whereas the ethnic Germans themselves will not get one unless they have made a per capita hard currency payment of between DM 5,000 and DM 10,000, in addition to the "official" compensation payment of DM 7,800 by the Bonn government.

Budapest sources say the Hungarian-Romanian border situation is untenable with Hungarian nationals being treated in an almost unacceptable fashion. When asked why Hungary does not make Romanian transit traffic to the West through Hungary more difficult, the sources say that the government wishes to avoid taking any such steps as long as possible but that they cannot be ruled out indefinitely. This is a fact that ought also to be taken into account by anyone wishing to encourage German industry to invest in the Romanian economy. By creating problems on the border, Ceausescu wanted to pressure Hungarian party chief Kadar into meeting with him, the Hungarian sources believe. But there is a greater likelihood that this type of behavior will result in no such meeting at all. Romanian Minister President Dascalescu's visit to Budapest 2 months ago is said to have focused on economic issues and not to have led to any movement in the question of the hard-pressed Hungarians in Transylvania.

The question of why Ceausescu, whose problems are serious enough as it is, has decided to provoke others and why he has quite obviously intensified this behavior to the point where normal communications are no longer possible poses something of an enigma. On the one hand, there is an increase in the number of official visits to Bucharest—albeit of a protocol nature, with no political content. One of the most recent visitors was the King of Spain who made a rather remarkable statement on human rights which even had to be reprinted for protocol reasons in the party organ SCINTEIA. On the other hand, Ceausescu is making every effort to undercut normal relations. One of the four Romanian diplomats—a man named Lupu—who was expelled from the FRG for spying and planning assassinations following the Ceausescu visit to Bonn last year was promoted to the post of head of the German desk in the Bucharest foreign ministry. This has made the German embassy's relations with the foreign ministry more difficult.

In Water Up to His Neck

Observers explain this behavior on the part of the Bucharest regime by pointing out that Ceausescu has led the country to the brink of economic disaster following the severe winter and that he is in hot water up to his neck after the stinging reprimand he got from Moscow. As is customary in the Balkans, he is obviously trying to hide his weakness behind a veil of arrogance. It also appears that the regime is undergoing a certain disintegration process. Over the past few years, Ceausescu has been basing

his rule more and more on a small group of people in the police and the army, with his own relatives and those of his wife Elena assuming the necessary control functions. In view of the economic crisis of last winter, it would be logical to assume that the number of Ceausescu supporters within the inner circle would get smaller in direct proportion to the growing number of difficulties with which even the privileged class is confronted. The unsolved bombings in Bucharest would also seem to point to a somewhat difficult internal situation. There is no detailed information on the type of persons Ceausescu wishes to expel; but they do not appear to be criminals or genuine dissidents exclusively. Informed sources suggest that the best way of describing them might be to call them "unreliable elements."

Western foreign ministries continue to feel that a hard line vis-a-vis Romania and the application of all available pressure is not the best way to get the government to relent on specific issues and to achieve normal international relations. This seems to be tied to a continued exaggeration of Romania's role at international conferences and of its value as an irritant within the East Bloc. The past several months have shown (particularly with regard to the issue of the extension of the Warsaw Pact) that not much can be expected on that score any longer. Ceausescu's base of operation has gotten too narrow and tenuous. By now, therefore, concessions to Romania make sense only to a limited extent.

By scheduling a symposium on economic investment in Romania, the FRG has given proof of its good will. It would now be time for the Romanians to follow suit. A visit by the [FRG] chancellor to Bucharest would probably not make sense until some progress has been made on the points at issue, particularly on the emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania.

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ROMANIA

STIFF PENALTIES PART OF EFFORT TO INCREASE BIRTH RATE

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 11 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Heiko Flottau: "Having Babies Controlled by Agents"]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 June—Once again tough measures are called for in order to move the country ahead in building socialism. Of course production must be increased, but the basis for it is declining more and more in Romania. The people are no longer willing to go along. They want to leave the country. If they do not behave the way they should, they are thrown in jail or, more recently, simply shipped off to the West. The newest wrinkle is that people are resisting in an area where they thought the party could not get at them. The thing simply is that the Romanians do not much feel like propagating. But one more time the Romanians reckoned without their leader Nicolae Ceausescu and the communist party.

"Nothing in society must escape the notice of the party," SCINTEIA wrote, "particularly when it concerns as important an issue as the maintenance of a proper rate of population growth." The fact is that Romania is not only lagging far behind in the fulfillment of its industrial plan but also in the fulfillment of its "birth plan." In 1984, the population increased by only 94,000 instead of the 383,000 "planning goal."

This trend which alarms the regime has for some time been of major concern to the party and the intelligence apparatus. Women factory workers must submit to a gynecological examination once every 3 weeks. The purpose of the examinations is not only to keep the women from getting abortions but also to force them to bear children. Whenever a woman is diagnosed as infertile, the party immediately orders her to submit to therapy whether she wants to or not. But if the gynecologist finds that the woman is capable of bearing of children but refuses to bear the four children per family which the state expects, the couple may expect severe punishment. Their social or medical services are taken away from them or at least cut; the financial assistance payments for their annual vacation are reduced. Recently, the state security service has begun sending female agents into the factories whose job it is to watch over fulfillment of the party resolutions regarding the "demographic development of the country."

Climbing Death Rate

Generally speaking, the Romanians have long quietly accepted the fate imposed upon them by the ruling Ceausescu family. More recently, however, they have really been suffering and this has given rise to genuine criticism. Poetess Ana Blandina wrote a poem of protest in which she complained that an "entire people has been condemned to bear children." The editor who permitted the poem to be published has apparently been fired.

The reason why more and more Romanians refuse to have children is that living conditions are not only catastrophic but steadily worsening. Many people simply do not know how they would feed their children and just as many do not even know whether any children they might have would even survive beyond the first few months of life. Particularly during the past winter, which was extremely severe, with its power outages and energy shortages there were constant reports about the mounting child death rate. In particular, children are also dying once they have left the hospital and have gotten home where they are not only apt to suffer from the cold but also from a lack of proper baby food. But even inside the hospitals more children are now dying than before. Last winter's energy shortage was so bad that even incubators were not working at times. The death rate for newly born babies has recently climbed from 18 per thousand to 83 per thousand. At times, Caesarean sections are also performed too late. The party believes that women who have delivered by Caesarean section may subsequently not be able to fulfill the expected four children per family requirement.

Penalties for having no children have been further stiffened. If a couple has no children, it must return six to eight percent of its income to the state. There also is a special tax on bachelors over the age of 25. The decline in the Romanian birth rate does not seem to be an entirely new development, however. In a way, it started soon after Ceausescu took power two decades ago. At that time, abortion and divorce were virtually outlawed. For a time thereafter, the state birth rate plan was fulfilled after a fashion but the decline appears to have started during the past few years—the more so since Ceausescu ordered drastic cuts in social assistance to mothers some time ago.

But there really is hardly anyone who thinks that the regime could as much as dictate population growth. By the end of this year the Romanian population is supposed to have climbed from the 1984 figure of 22.6 million to 23.5 million, based on the state planning estimates. Ceausescu wants the population to rise to 25 million by 1990 and to 30 million by the year 2000. By then, there will still be a state plan; but if the economic and political situation has not decisively improved in the meantime, the Romanians living then will simply still refuse to have children.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSY OVER 'VERBAL TRANSGRESSIONS' RESUMES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1796, 2 Jun 85
pp 18-20

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic]

[Text] At the conference which has been held for several days in Ljubljana to debate the upcoming amendments and supplements to the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia the main dilemma of the most competent experts in criminal law from the departments of all the law schools in the country has been whether the changes offered, which the Federal Chamber is to debate this fall, inevitably lead toward "... democratization in criminal law ..." or perhaps in the development of legal thought we are taking a few steps backward. All in all this was a meeting, the first of a series on this topic, in which no great pains were required to see beyond the agreement to all the contradictoriness of thought on the proposed topic.

Subtle Issues

It was stated from the outset that an immense mistake had been made in the past when uniform Yugoslav criminal legislation was divided up into nine codes! Whereas all federations are moving toward unification of their legislation, we are dividing ours up more and more. Djordji Marjanovic, full professor at the law school of "Cyril and Methodius" University in Skoplje, in a sense the enfant terrible of this meeting, asserted that "... we have to treat the Criminal Code as a logical whole.... After all, it is intolerable for a man's fate to depend on whether he is being tried in Novi Sad, Skoplje, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Belgrade, all within the same country...."

Franjo Bacic, professor from Zagreb, also spoke about the dilemma whether the republic legislation has overstepped its authorities and waded deep into that portion which under the constitution belongs to the Federation or whether, as is likely, it is the other way about. Expressing his disagreement with such great differences, his colleague from Rijeka, Professor Zeljko Horvatic, said that "... we cannot even explain to the students the source of such differences in the criminal codes of the republics and provinces...." Professor Horvatic then spoke about the changes in the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia. When we did this some 10 years ago, Horvatic believes, we said at the time that these were not "... major and very serious changes, but only mutual

reconciliation. Today, however, we have essential and cosmetic changes.... The supplementation and amendment of the Criminal Code always constitute a large undertaking, so that there is every justification for asking why this is being done. Changes in the law have taken on such a scale that even the judges can no longer get their bearings in enforcement of the new laws, much less anyone else...."

The reader is certainly right if he concludes that academic thought and its representatives did not unanimously support the legislator in his intention to amend and supplement the Criminal Code. It has been said that "the goal of a revision," as it was put by the well-known Professor Nikola Srzentic, depends on its character...." The professors have requested that they be cited the points of support, grounds and political rationale for amending and supplementing the Code. A number of subtle issues, they especially emphasized, have been raised which cannot be resolved by rash and hasty action. Professor Bacic, avoiding any sort of subtlety, said that he did not see "the purpose of this change nor its social justifiability...." If this is being done because of the rise of white-collar crime, the events in Kosovo, the higher rate of political crime ... then the authors of the law, in the assessment of certain participants in the conference in Ljubljana, ought to say so loud and clear.

While we are still talking about the observations and assessments expressed at the beginning of the debate, it is not out of place to note that Professor Gojko Prodanic, deputy federal secretary for jurisprudence, mentioned that the material offered on possible amendments and supplements to the Criminal Code represents only the proposal of a working group and that all remarks and proposals made during the public discussion, of which the meeting in Ljubljana is only the beginning, will be taken into consideration, and finally, if they meet the needs of our legislation, they will be offered in the fall as a proposal to the delegates of the Federal Chamber.

Kosovo and Repression

The first disagreements of any seriousness occurred when the discussion began about the reasons for changing or supplementing the Code. This could best be seen in the discussion of the supplements to the articles in Title 15, which concerns criminal acts "against the foundation of the social system of socialist self-management and the security of the SFRY." One proposal was to extend the list of motives in several articles in that title which refer to "murder motivated by hostility toward the SFRY," "violence motivated by hostility toward the SFRY," terrorism, destruction of important facilities of the economy, sabotage. To make the changes offered clearer to the reader we will give a specific example. The future Article 122 in Title 15, should it be adopted, ought to read as follows: "Whosoever from hostile motives toward the SFRY /or from ethnic, racial or religious enmity or intolerance/ [material enclosed in slantlines emphasized in original] takes the life of another shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 10 years or the death penalty." (The words emphasized are the newly proposed portion of the article--S. S.)

"I am against having Kosovo treated specifically in the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia," Professor Bacic was explicit. "These are all unnecessary

interventions." The Zagreb professor was joined by his colleague from Ljubljana Ljubo Bacic, who argued that "... the rape of a woman belonging to one nationality by a man belonging to another nationality could be a completely trivial element...." He especially emphasized: "... there is another argument, but I will not state it, since someone might be offended." In the judgment of this illustrious specialist in criminal law, one should not make a rule out of an exception! Neither he nor Professor Bacic could understand why the Criminal Code is being supplemented because of the events in Kosovo.

An almost identical opinion was expressed by Professor Peter Kobe, also from Ljubljana. "The situation in one part of the country cannot be the basis for the entire country.... This is a broadening of repression.... This issue can be resolved within the province, within the republic.... Is it necessary to broaden the repression because of a transient situation ...?"

Belgrade Professor Ljubisa Lazarevic opposed the opinions of his colleagues, asking them whether what is happening in the province is a Kosovo problem or a Yugoslav problem and whether all this should be given its place in the legislation of Kosovo, the republic or Yugoslavia. It is of interest that no one responded to him.

A disagreement also arose over Article 157, which speaks about injuring the reputation of the SFRY. Here is how that article reads: "Whosoever exposes to ridicule the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its flag, seal or anthem, its supreme official bodies or the representatives of those bodies, its armed forces or commander in chief, shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 3 months and not more than 3 years."

The working group proposed the following amendment and supplementation to that article in Title 17: "In Article 157 following the words 'those bodies' the words 'members of the SFRY State Presidency' would be added, and the words 'commander in chief' would be replaced by the words 'the image or name of Josip Broz Tito.'"

This was opposed by Professor Franjo Bacic, who said that "a deceased representative is not a supreme representative. He is only a man, and it is enough to be a man. It is unsuitable to make separate mention of the name of Josip Broz...."

Work Left Behind

Quite a bit of time and effort was spent in Ljubljana over the responsibility of professional management bodies and also the bodies of self-management. There were even some who said that this field of activity must be given its place in the upcoming revision of the Yugoslav Criminal Code. The bodies of self-management are a screen behind which professional management structures hide, and behind them in turn are certain other structures. The experts in criminal law from all 18 Yugoslav law schools--since no one opposed--feel that the members of that same body ought to be responsible for mistakes in business operation, not just the chairman of the business board.

Finally, something needs to be said in conclusion about the change in the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia, which after all was spoken about the most. An attempt was made at the meeting in Ljubljana to argue that there are more essential supplements and amendments than Article 133, which speaks about the verbal crime. We said only that an attempt was made, since even a layman would not and did not bring away that impression from this meeting. The verbal crime, then, did arouse great attention even among the lawmakers and experts in criminal law themselves.

Political Crime

The first to react to all of this was the eloquent Professor Marjanovic from Skoplje, who said that this article was unconstitutional. He then asked the colleagues present what kind of freedom it was in which one had the right to think, but did not have the right to communicate that thought. He also mentioned the Novi Sad Writers Congress which unanimously demanded that Article 133 of the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia be deleted and remarked that "... that demand was aimed at our conscience...." He then mentioned almost cynically that the "author" of that legal provision was Svetislav "Ceca" Stefanovic, who had justified its existence by arguing that it "influenced the shaky articles," but that Stefanovic had long since left the Yugoslav political scene, but his "work" had remained even to the present day. At the end he concluded emotionally that "socialism cannot defend itself with closed mouths and bowed heads."

Professor Bacic immediately took a decided position concerning this article, asserting: "I am not among those who favor deletion of this article." He reminded those present of the present importance of the ideological struggle and that Yugoslavia is not the only country which has such a legal provision. He took a few steps backward in speaking about the remote time of the Cold War. It would be unfair if we did not quote the following thought which he expressed! "... We must not be ashamed of that provision, but only of its abuse."

The notable figure of Professor Bacic was joined, though without much comment, by Professor Lazarevic, who said that "Article 133 is necessary, since other states also have it, indeed in a more drastic form."

Clear Difference

Following these extremes, the opinion of one of the most competent specialists in this field of legal science, Ljubo Bavcon, professor at the School of Law at Ljubljana University, was anticipated with great interest. Everything he said in his speech led to the conclusion that he had been concerned with this for a long time and that he finally expected that everything he had done would not remain a dead letter. Nor, finally, did he restrain himself from uttering a few words against the changes proposed by the working group.

"The first paragraph of Article 133 contains hostile propaganda in the true sense of the word, but in the second part of the text something referred to as slander of the state," Ljubo Bavcon said. "The first part of the description of the crime is in principle not at issue for me. I think that there is no

justification for the proposals to delete the first part of Article 133.... The second part of the description of this crime, or 'slander of the state' is the description which should be deleted. It cannot, of course, be said that in real life there are no verbal or written statements similar to slander in which the object of the attack is the state or its social and political conditions. But since an intelligent man as a rule does not pay much attention to obviously untruthful assertions, there is even more reason why the state should not get disturbed by them. An individual is sometimes forced to seek the aid of the court to defend himself against the malice of his peers or those who are stronger than himself, but nothing of the kind can be said of the state, since by comparison with the individual it is incomparably stronger."

The illustrious man from Ljubljana also said that the provisions of this article are also debatable because "... they could mean, and in certain well-known cases have in fact constituted an illegitimate and even unconstitutional restriction of human rights and freedoms as stated in Articles 166, 167 and 169 of the SFRY Constitution.

"Why is it necessary to state quite clearly," Professor Bavcon was explicit, "that it is my intention as a proponent to prevent criminal prosecution of people who have exercised their constitutional right of freedom of thought and all forms of critical public expression and representation? Those freedoms are among other things the foundation of socialist self-management democracy, and without them our social system is not what it proclaims itself to be...."

That ended the debate about the "crime of thought" with the obvious message that punishment cannot suppress man's age-old need to think freely and to state publicly what he thinks.

The Ljubljana dialogue about the amendments and supplements to Yugoslavia's Criminal Code is only one of a series which will be held before the fall, when this topic will enter the great portal of the Yugoslav Assembly. To be sure, it was announced in the Yugoslav Parliament more than a year ago when Dr Stefica Bahtijarevic, a delegate, asked the federal public prosecutor how it was in our society, which is interested in encouraging the critical consciousness of the citizenry, to make a clear difference between democratic expression of critical thought and hostile activity.

[Box, pp 18-19]

Hostile Propaganda

(1) Whosoever in a written text, leaflet, drawing, speech or any other manner calls for or urges the overthrow of the rule of the working class and the working people, an unconstitutional change of the social system of socialist self-management, the shattering of the brotherhood and unity and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the overthrow of the bodies of social self-management and the authorities or their executive bodies, resistance to the decisions of the competent bodies of government and self-management which are of importance to the protection and development of socialist

self-management relations and the country's security or defense, or who maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country,

shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years.

(2) Whosoever commits the crime referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article with help or under influence from abroad,

shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 3 years.

(3) Whosoever sends or smuggles an agitator or propaganda material onto the territory of the SFRY for the purpose of committing the crime stated in Paragraph 1 of this article,

shall be subject to imprisonment of at least 1 year.

(4) Whosoever with the intention of distribution prepares or copies hostile propaganda material or whosoever possesses such material with the knowledge that it is intended for distribution,

shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 6 months and not more than 5 years.

First, here is what the working group proposes concerning this article, which for years has attracted particular attention of the Yugoslav public:

"In Article 133, Paragraph 1, following the word "speech" add the words "untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country", and at the end of that paragraph delete the words "or maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country". (So that everything concerning this article might be clearer to the reader, NIN has given above the way it now reads--S. S.)

Moreover, the working group proposes that Paragraph 2 of this article be deleted, while Articles 3 and 4 would become Articles 2 and 3.

Along with this solution, three alternatives have also been proposed: Alternative 1: In Article 133, Paragraph 1, delete the words "or maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country". Paragraph 2 would also be amended to read as follows: "Whosoever maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than 8 years".

The second alternative is to delete Paragraph 2 of Article 133 and the third is not to amend Paragraphs 1 and 2.

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END